The American Neptune



THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



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Subscriptions should be addressed to The Assistant Treasurer. Manuscripts, books for listing, and correspondence should be addressed to The Managing Editor,

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF 24 AUGUST 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF 3 MARCH 1933 AND 2 JULY 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233)

Of The American Neptune published quarterly at Salem, Massachusetts, for October 1951.

State of Massachusetts | ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Ernest S. Dodge, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Treasurer of THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by Act of 24 August 1912, as amended by the Act of 3 March 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and treasurer are:

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Editor: Ernest S. Dodge, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.

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2. That the owner is: The American Neptune. Inc., Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, a Massachusetts charitable corporation, the officers are: S. E. Morison, *President*, A. P. Loring, Jr., *Secretary*, and Ernest S. Dodge, *Treasurer*.

8. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None—The support of the journal depends upon receipts from subscriptions, and no payment is made for contributions or for editorial work.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was: Not required.

Ernest S. Dodge. Treasurer.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of Sept., 1951.

LEON H. PAULING, Notary Public. (My commission expires June 30, 1951.)

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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

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VOLUME XII

JANUARY 1952

NUMBER I

IN the editorial for the last July number of The American Neptune it was announced that a meeting of the editors and advisory board would be held in September. Launched at an inauspicious time upon a sea of troubles, it was meet that we take the now aging craft into drydock to see how she had weathered ten stormy years of war and economic instability. Was the rigging getting frayed? Was she opening at the seams? Or was the cost of keeping her afloat becoming more than the stable freight rate would bear? Such were some of our thoughts when fourteen editors and board members gathered, as of yore, on the morning of 15 September as guests of Walter Whitehill in his North Andover barn. Most of those who were unable to attend sent their opinions and suggestions in thoughtful and detailed letters.

After some five hours of stimulating discussion, broken only by a brief respite for refreshment and fish chowder, one unanimous agreement stood out above all others. No one wanted to change the present format of The Neptune as a measure of economy. We like the cut of her jib. A discussion of some of the changes which might mean economies showed that the savings would be so slight that they would not offset the cheapened appearance of the magazine. So much for the rigging.

The seams were tightened by the following changes, additions, and reaffirmations. Readers apparently like to know something about the

authors so in the future, as will be noticed in the present number, there will appear a few lines of brief biographical data about each author at the end of his article. Another unanimous decision was that The Neptune would better serve the interests of maritime history if we discontinued our reviews and substituted a comprehensive descriptive bibliography of all writings in the field which come to our attention. As our number of pages is limited by cost, it has been possible in the past to notice only the barest fraction of material that has appeared. It was decided, therefore, to start our bibliographies with a list of material from 1945 through 1950 which appears in this number. Professor Robert G. Albion's introduction to the first of these bibliographies explains in detail what is to follow. He has generously agreed to compile these bibliographies and subscribers would be doing a service that would be very much appreciated if notices of maritime articles seen in obscure places were sent to him.

Another NEPTUNE stalwart, Vernon D. Tate, has stepped forward and agreed to act, in so far as possible, as a clearing house center on the difficult matter of plans, lines, and other information for model makers. No final decision was reached regarding regular publication of plans, but it was agreed to try to publish useful lines and other material at least twice a year in reduced size line cuts that will go on one page. It may then be possible to work out a system whereby people interested in building models or using the lines will be able to obtain blueprints of them on a larger scale. There will be future announcements about this as plans develop. In the meantime, all correspondence concerning models, and discussions of problems about lines, or supplies for model making should be conducted directly with Mr. Tate, who is Director of Libraries, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. It is The Neptune's earnest desire to aid serious model enthusiasts with information which is historically accurate. It was the general agreement of all that the policies laid down for The Neptune when it was founded in 1941 be reaffirmed and, as they have never appeared since they were first printed in Volume I, Number 1, we reprint those policies here, the only change of consequence being in Item 10, Bibliography.

1. Technical, nautical and marine historical research.

Articles dealing with the design, construction, and operation of various types of vessels at different periods.

2. General historical articles.

Articles dealing with the activities of merchants and shipping lines; histories of individual vessels and voyages; studies of ports; naval, privateering, steamship, and yachting history.

3. History of scientific navigation.

Articles dealing with the development of the science of navigation, nautical instruments, charts, and maps.

4. Sea lore.

Eye-witness accounts and memoirs dealing with marine activities in various regions; examples of sea lore, chanteys, etc., may be included from time to time.

5. Biography.

Biographical sketches of shipmasters, merchants, and ship builders will be included where the subjects were of significance in the maritime history of their region. Genealogical accounts and works of local piety will be avoided.

6. Marine art.

Articles on marine painting, prints, shipcarving, and the historic decoration of watercraft.

7. Documents.

Significant unpublished manuscripts, reprints of very rare tracts, and reproductions of contemporary photographs of sailing vessels and early steamships.

8. Ship models.

Accounts of collections of historical models. Data including plans for the construction of models. Plans of highest possible historical and technical accuracy will be included whenever feasible. The emphasis in this section will be upon what to build rather than how to build it.

q. Marine museums.

Articles dealing with the collections and activities of various marine museums, and accounts of the marine possessions of institutions primarily devoted to other purposes.

10. Bibliography.

A quarterly descriptive bibliography of all writings in the field of maritime history will be published.

11. Notes and Queries.

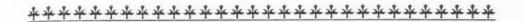
A section, containing notes of general interest, requests for information, and replies whenever possible, will be included occasionally. Subscribers are urged to forward notes and queries.

It can also be pointed out once more that The American Neptune is intended to be a common meeting ground for all those interested in the many diverse aspects of maritime research and that it is entirely carried on on a volunteer basis. It is desirable in a small field such as this that we have a close and friendly relationship between editors, writers, and subscribers.

The freight rate has been dealt with by the increased price of the journal already announced in the last number. An active committee will conduct a drive for more subscribers during the winter, and we will solicit advertising from anyone dealing with maritime fields. It is hoped that not only will these endeavors meet our present printing costs but that we will also be able to publish more pictorial material., Subscribers and old friends can help out by promptly renewing subscriptions, giving The Neptune to nautically-minded friends, or persuading them to enter their own subscriptions. Attention is called to libraries desiring complete sets that only a few remain.

ERNEST S. DODGE

Peabody Museum of Salem



The Gjøa

BY WILLIAM A. BAKER

THE GJOA EXPEDITION

In command of Captain Roald Amundsen with a crew of six men sailed from Christiana, Norway, 16 June 1903.

Spent 22 months at Gjoa Harbor, King Williams Land, taking magnetic observations to determine location of magnetic North Pole.

Proceeded westward and sailed through the North West Passage, the only time in history, in the summer of 1905.

Arrived at San Francisco in October 1906.

The Gjoa was presented on the 16th June 1909 to the Golden Gate Park Commissioners by Captain Roald Amundsen and Norwegians on Pacific Coast through the Norwegian Consul Henry Lund at San Francisco.

The Gjoa was built in Norway in 1872, length 70 feet, beam 20 feet and of 47 net registered tons.

SINCE 1909, the above information on a painted signboard, badly weathered through the years, has told in a minimum of words of the successful conquest of the elusive Northwest Passage.

Now seventy-seven years young and appearing very much as she did when sailing through the Golden Gate in October 1906 *Gjøa* is once again on view to the public in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park where she has rested since 1909. After an almost complete reconstruction, she is in good condition and with proper care will last many years more as a memorial to that intrepid Arctic explorer, Roald Amundsen.

Perhaps the first question that non-Scandinavians ask concerning $Gj\phi a$ is 'How do you pronounce the name?' but for them it is almost an impossibility. The nearest pronunciation is to think of the common American phrase 'Oh Yeah!' and leave off the 'Oh'—the result is $Gj\phi a$, a Norwegian girl's name.

Gjøa was built in the Rosendal yard on Hardanger Fjord, Norway, in 1872, the same year in which Roald Amundsen was born in Norway. She spent the first twenty-eight years of her life in the Norwegian fishing

trade, being owned originally by Captain Asbjørn Sexe of Hangesund. Late in the mid-eighties she was purchased by Captain H. C. Johanneson of Tromsø. With a length between perpendiculars of 69 feet, a breadth of 20.6 feet, a depth of hold of 9.0 feet and a draft of 7.7 feet, she meas-

ured 46.6 net tons.

Roald Amundsen became interested in $Gj\phi a$ in 1900 while seeking a stout, shallow-draft vessel for a proposed Arctic voyage. He bought her and spent the summer of 1901 sailing the North Atlantic between Norway and Greenland, taking oceanographic observations of that region and generally testing her qualities. After this voyage he proceeded with many alterations which included a 3-inch-thick oak sheathing, iron strapping on the stem, additional floors and bottom frames, several heavy hold beams just above the turn of the bilge secured by lodging knees and connected to a row of stanchions on the centerline, and miscellaneous small items. To aid in the tight places, a 13-horsepower, 2-cylinder, keroseneburning 'Dan' engine with necessary fuel tanks was installed. At that time, the installation of an internal-combustion engine was considered a greater hazard than the proposed voyage.

On the night of 16 June 1903, $Gj\phi a$ sailed from Christiania (now Oslo) during a driving rainstorm to escape a persistent creditor. Besides Captain Amundsen there was a crew of six—Lieutenant Godfred Hansen, Anton Lund, Helmer Hansen, Adolph Lindstrom, Peder Ristvedt, and

Gustav Wiik.

Stores occupied every available space in the hold and most of the deck space as well. The crew soon settled into a seagoing routine and after an uneventful passage $Gj\phi a$ anchored at Godhavn on Disko Island, off the western coast of Greenland. Here sledges, dogs and kayaks were loaded on 25 July 1903. After proceeding north from Disko Island across Melville Bay, the final supplies were picked up from a previously established depot on Dalrymple Rock, an ancient rendezvous of the Scottish whaling fleet. When these supplies were aboard, the main deck amidships was at the water level.

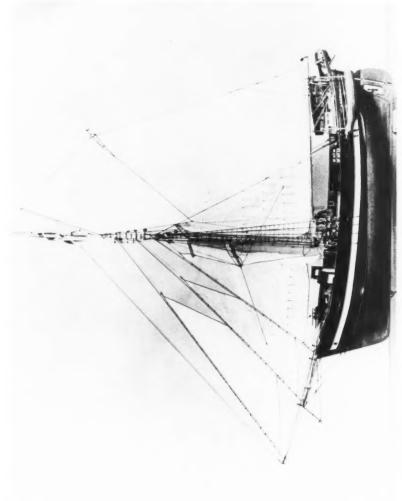
The expedition then sailed westward across Baffin Bay to Beechey Island where they turned south into Peal Strait and finally, on 12 September 1903, Gjøa anchored off King William Island. During this portion of the voyage the little vessel grounded twice and suffered a fire in the motor compartment. The first grounding splintered the keel while on the second, during which she bumped over 200 yards of rocks, the false keel was beaten off, the sheathing damaged, and the rudder dislodged. During this second grounding the majority of the deck cargo was jettisoned.



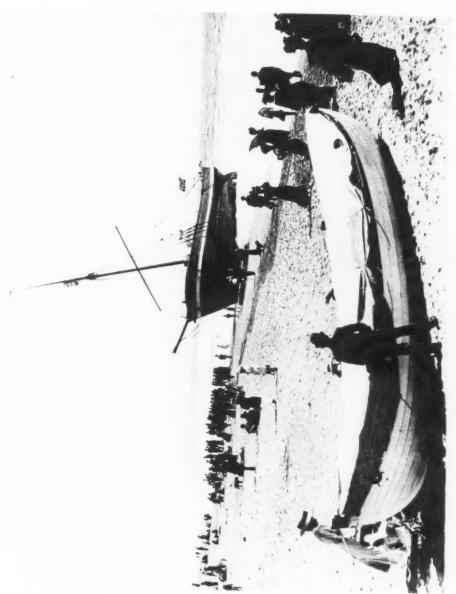
Gjøa at Nome



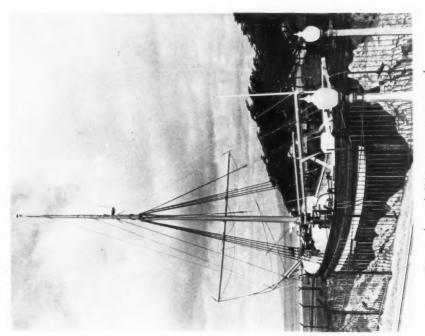
Captain Amundsen and crew at Nome. Front row: Amundsen, P. Ristvedt, A. Lindstrom, H. Hansen. Back row: G. Hansen, A. Lund, and two unidentified men who did not make the Arctic voyage



Model of $Gj\phi a-\text{scale }V_4$ inch equals 1 foot. Built by W. H. Honey, London. Awarded Championship Cup at 1948 'Model Engineer Exhibition,' London



Gjøa beached off Golden Gate Park, 1909



Stern view of Gjoa as reconstructed



Bow view of Gjøa as reconstructed

For the next two years $Gj\emptyset a$ remained at the King William Island base while Amundsen and his crew were engaged in magnetic and meteorological observations, sledge expeditions, etc., which established the position and movement of the North Magnetic Pole. Finally, on 13 August 1905 they broke camp and sailed for Simpson Strait, much further south than any previous expedition had tried. After a two-week ordeal, when at times there was but an inch of water beneath the keel, a sail was sighted ahead southwest of Banks Island—the American whaler *Charles Hanson* of San Francisco. This important day when Roald Amundsen knew he had conquered the Northwest Passage was 26 August 1905.

 $Gj\emptyset a$ was caught by ice on 2 Septembr 1905 and forced to winter at King Point on the north coast of Canada. In company for the winter were several whaling vessels whose masters resented the newcomers and figured that there would be 'seven more mouths to feed.' Before the winter was over they found that, after two years in the Arctic, $Gj\emptyset a$ was better provisioned than they, as Amundsen sent them two tons of wheat flour. During this winter one of the party, Gustav Wiik, died of pneumonia.

In company with one of the shipmasters from the whaling fleet and an Eskimo guide and his wife, Amundsen left the vessel and her crew for the winter and after a two months' journey by dog sled arrived at the U. S. Army outpost of Fort Egbert at Eagle, Alaska, on 5 December 1905. From there he dispatched the telegraphic message that announced to the world his successful navigation of the Northwest Passage. In February 1906 he left Fort Egbert and returned to *Gjøa* with his guide.

In July 1906 the ice receded and allowed $Gj\phi a$ to proceed to Herschel Island where she was again icebound. On 10 August 1906 she finally got clear and on 31 August arrived at Nome, Alaska. Plate 1 shows $Gj\phi a$ at Nome and Amundsen and his crew.

Gjøa arrived unheralded off San Francisco on Friday, 19 October 1906, the trip from Nome being the stormiest part of the three-year voyage, and was towed to an anchorage off Sausalito by the Revenue Cutter Golden Gate. Here Amundsen, who had travelled ahead, boarded the vessel and greeted the crew. A large portion of San Francisco was still in ruins caused by the earthquake and fire of April 1906 but the citizens rose to the occasion and put on a royal welcome.

The official reception of the City of San Francisco opened with a naval parade on the bay on Sunday, 21 October 1906, at the conclusion of which $Gj\phi a$ was tied up at the Mission Street wharf. Amundsen and his crew went ashore and were driven in carriages to the Norwegian Club on Pierce Street where the freedom of the Club was extended to them. On

the following day there was a reception in the St. Francis Hotel tendered by the City of San Francisco, followed in the evening by a banquet at the Norwegian Club. The Norwegian Women's Club gave a reception to Amundsen and his crew on Tuesday while on Wednesday Amundsen was a guest aboard the U.S.S. *Wisconsin* where he was received with full honors. On Wednesday evening, 24 October, the City of San Francisco

was the host at a formal banquet in the St. Francis Hotel.

During the banquet at the Norwegian Club, Mr. O. A. Tveitmoe, President of the Club, suggested that $Gj\emptyset a$ be placed under the care of the United States Government at the Mare Island Navy Yard until the opening of the Panama Canal when she would be designated as the first vessel to pass through the locks. The first part of this suggestion was carried out and $Gj\emptyset a$ was towed to Mare Island. However, the Norwegian colony of San Francisco and others felt that she should remain in San Francisco as a memorial to the voyage and to this end sufficient funds to purchase her were raised by subscription. On 8 December 1908 the Park Commission of San Francisco was advised by the Norwegian Consul, Henry Lund, that the Norwegian colony was ready to place $Gj\emptyset a$ at its disposal.

On Wednesday afternoon, 16 June 1909, Gjøa was formally turned over to the City of San Francisco by the Norwegian Consul at ceremonies held aboard the vessel moored at Pier 1, foot of Howard Street. The Chairman of the Park Commission, Mr. F. W. Dohrman, accepted her on behalf of the Park Commission, and Mayor Edward R. Taylor, speaking for the citizens of San Francisco, thanked Consul Lund for the gift.

About three weeks later, on Monday, 5 July 1909. Gjøa was towed out through the Golden Gate to a point on the Ocean Beach where she was beached at high slack water. The crew were removed by breeches buoy and, as the tide fell, she was hauled up and placed in a prepared berth at

the western end of Golden Gate Park facing the Pacific Ocean.

For the next thirty years she slowly but surely deteriorated from the effects of wind, weather, termites and rot until something drastic had to be done if she was not to become a total loss. Certain maintenance work, including painting and the fitting of a second layer of deck planking, had been done but this was not enough. Items such as the small boats, deck barrels, etc., were removed as they fell apart. To aid the San Francisco Park Commission in maintaining her as a landmark, the $Gj\phi a$ Foundation, a non-profit organization, was formed on 15 April 1939, largely through the efforts of Mr. Erik Krag, Vice-President of the Inter-ocean S. S. Corporation. Shortly thereafter, the Foundation commissioned the

firm of Pillsbury & Curtis, marine surveyors, to examine the vessel and draw up specifications for her reconstruction.

The following condition report is from the Pillsbury & Curtis Report of Survey No. 5114, dated 1 May 1939:

The vessel generally is in poor condition as regards preservation. A great deal of dry rot is evident all over; particularly at the ends, in the deck framing and planking, and in the exposed framing of the hull.

The sides, at the deck, have sprung athwartships due to fetching away of the beam end connections to the shelves and clamps; otherwise the sheer is generally

fair, keel is straight and the ends are true.

The keel and keelson timbers, the hold stanchions and hold beams are in good condition generally; except a space in the keel about amidships, which was damaged evidently by pounding on the beach.

The stem and stern posts are apparently sound, except one place on the stem near the waterline and a similar one on the stern post, probably due to the action of ice; and except the rabbets and deadwoods which could not be examined.

The mast seems good, except at the partners where it is more or less girdled with rot; the other spars seem sound, but the gaff and bowsprit are considerably checked

and split.

The rigging and iron work generally is in rather dilapidated condition; chain plates are rusted out at the eyes; deadeyes and straps the same; other iron work, chains and rods, eyebolts, etc., about half capable of being preserved.

Pumps, windlass and engine are very much deteriorated but capable of restora-

tion as necessary for preservation.

Bulwark rails, etc. generally sound, except some of the bulwark stanchions; but need considerable in the way of fairing and finishing for painting. Hatch coamings the same; and cabin trunk house in poor condition generally, but probably capable of repairs.

The main frame of the ship, where now exposed by the removal of the ceiling in wake of the main hatch, shows futtock timbers of birch or some like wood, with intermediate futtocks squared on the faying side to the bottom planking only-evidently to help support the latter against the ice. Apparently the ceiling is fastened to the main frames only.

All these frames show considerable wastage on the surface due to dry rot and erosion; but are a good deal sound,

Ceiling from the bilges down is in poor condition; elsewhere it looks fairly sound, except at the deck where it is more or less shattered and in poor condition.

Garboards and bottom planking seem generally sound, with a few soft places noticeable.

The outside sheathing in wake of the waterline and above is generally poor, patchy, and has an unfair and unshipshape appearance.

Rudder and tiller appear good; propeller aperture is good, except a soft spot on the stern post; shaft has been sawed off flush with the stern bearing; and there is no propeller.

Iron sheathing on the stem and forefoot is generally good: a few pieces are gone.

Anchor windlass, pump gear, messenger gear and power connections from the engine are somewhat incomplete, but capable of restoration.

Bitts, cleats and halliard winches are in good condition so far as preservation is

concerned and capable of restoration.

Ground tackle is fair; chain martingale and bowsprit shrouds the same.

Head gear is somewhat adrift, but can be restored.

Paint work is in very poor condition and very little of it.

This survey served as a basis for reconstruction specifications which were prepared by the same firm. The Board of Supervisors of the City of San Francisco appropriated the sum of \$12,500 towards the reconstruction and on 10 October 1939 a proposal was advertised for 'The Dismasting, Dismantling and Housing of the Sloop $Gj\phi a$,' bids to be opened at 12 o'clock noon on Thursday, 19 October 1939.

The J. L. Stewart Manufacturing Company of San Francisco submitted the lowest acceptable bid of \$2,575 but sublet the actual work to the Bruer-Siemer Company. On 23 January 1940 a ceremony on the occasion of dismasting was attended by city officials. Consul General Steckmest and members of the Norwegian colony. A shed 85 feet long, 39 feet wide and 30 feet high was then built over the hull and the work of dismantling begun. It proved to be a more drastic operation than anticipated, as the hidden structure was also badly deteriorated. Finally all that remained of the once stout vessel that had withstood three Arctic winters were the keel, keelson, floors and about ten bottom planks on each side amidships tapering to about three planks at the ends—roughly to the four-foot waterline.

An additional contract for the reconstruction was obtained by the J. L. Stewart Manufacturing Company for the sum of \$9,025. As the work of stripping progressed, templates had been made of the hull from which new double sawn frames of redwood were fabricated and erected about five feet apart. The frame futtocks were bolted together and the whole frame spliced into the existing structure. New deck beams of pine were spaced about the same as the frames but arranged to suit the various deck openings and fittings. The stem, sternpost and deadwood were renewed and the transom re-framed and planked. During the erection of this new work, ribbands, stringers, shores and tie rods were fitted to maintain the vessel's shape. With the exhaustion of the appropriation and the advent of World War II the reconstruction project was suspended. During the actual period of reconstruction from 10 July to 20 September 1940 the $Gj\phi a$ Foundation paid \$532.22 for the services of a foreman; Mr. Arne C. Storen, Captain Hibbs, and Captain Pillsbury of the firm

of Pillsbury & Curtis contributed their services as consultants.

In the autumn of 1947 the reconstruction project was revived. A press release dated 19 September 1947 read in part as follows:

At a meeting this week of the directors of the $Gj\phi a$ Foundation with the Norwegian Consul General Jorgen Galbe of San Francisco, who is also President of this Foundation, arrangements were made for appointment of a special committee to cooperate with the Park Commission of San Francisco in the final restoration work of the famous little ship $Gj\phi a$ in which Roald Amundsen made the Northwest Passage from 1903 to 1905. . . . An appropriation by the Park Commission supplemented by donations from private sources and the Government of Norway is now available for the work which will soon be proceeding as planned. The special committee consists of the following men:—

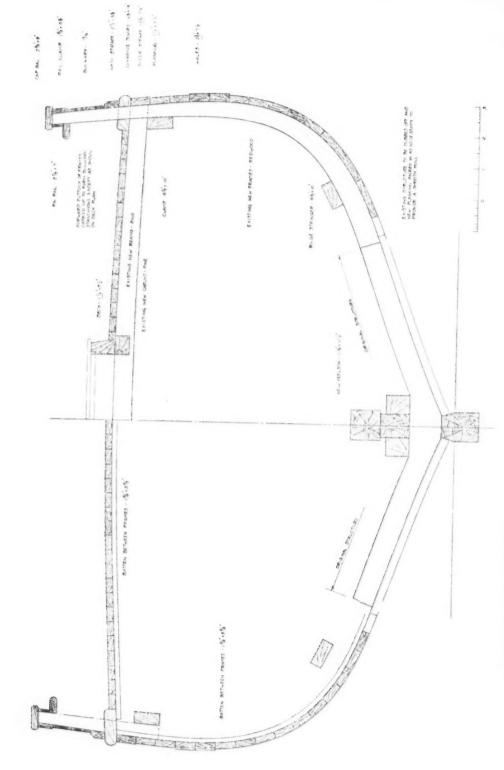
Mr. A. Aronsen, Marine Surveyor Captain A. F. Pillsbury, Marine Surveyor Mr. Arne C. Storen, Marine Surveyor Mr. W. A. Baker, Marine Architect Mr. Christian Blom, Shipping Executive Captain Olaf Carlsen, Arctic Navigator

This restoration committee will now prepare the necessary plans and specifications, with full recommendations for further procedure in the reconstruction work of the $Gj\phi a...$

This special committee faced a serious problem concerning the extent of the reconstruction. Many suggestions were made ranging from complete reconstruction of the interior as well as all exterior fittings and rigging to filling the berth with concrete and reconstructing from the waterline up. Having in mind the astronomical rise in material and labor costs it was finally agreed to complete the vessel to present as nearly as possible her original general appearance and to leave the interior entirely free. All standing rigging was to be replaced but only a minimum of the running rigging.

Had the original project of 1939 been completed many of the details could have been taken from the original parts but much of the material stripped from the hull had been taken away while many of the remaining items were difficult to identify. A number of the people connected with the work were no longer available for consultation so that on viewing the existing hull structure one could but guess at their intent.

One of the first steps was to secure plans and photographs of $Gj\phi a$ in various periods of her existence. Having been built as a typical fishing vessel of a national type it was highly improbable that there would be any builder's plans. Fortunately, plans and photographs of her were made by the Historic American Merchant Marine Survey which are on file in



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the Watercraft Collection of the Smithsonian Institution. Also available were a set of sixteen photographs taken about 1918 by Dr. F. C. Cordes of San Francisco which were of particular value, as they showed many items and details that had disappeared or had been altered by the time of the Survey. In addition to the photographs reproduced in Plates 1 and 3 many people in San Francisco had old photographs showing Gjøa's arrival and subsequent hauling-out in Golden Gate Park.

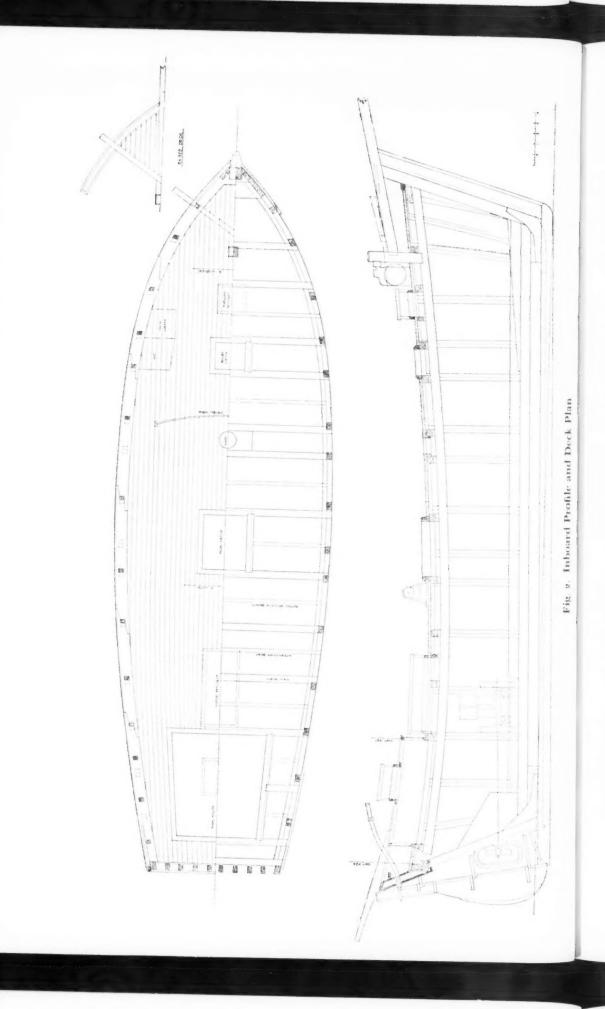
Another of the early steps was to survey the vessel which had been relatively undisturbed since 1940. Although there were many evidences of people having broken into the house there was no sign of any real damage to the framing but much of the original material had been left around indiscriminately and had suffered additional damage. It was the opinion of several shipwrights who inspected the vessel that it would be best to accept the existing framing as delineating the form of the vessel, since it was known that the frames had been made from templates and the ribbands and stringers looked fair. As there was no question of strength involved it was decided that the existing frames would be sufficient except at the bow, where several cants were to be fitted. The arrangement of the deck beams was generally satisfactory but it would be necessary to add several in way of the skylights and the after cabin trunk. To prevent the hull and deck planking from springing in the span between the frames and beams, battens were to be fitted as shown on the Midship Section and Deck Plan. Figures 1 and 2.

On the basis of the above mentioned plans, photographs and survey, complete plans and specifications for the reconstruction were prepared and submitted to the Park Commission. In June 1948 a letter from Mr. Krag, Secretary of the $Gj\phi a$ Foundation, to members and friends of the Foundation, read in part:

It is a pleasure to inform you that the plans and specifications for rehabilitation of the Gjoa, prepared by the special committee of the Foundation, were accepted by the San Francisco Park Commission on 22 April 1948 at which time the Park Engineer was requested to call for bids on the basis of same. Official advertising by the Park Commission took place on 9 and 10 June, the bids to be received up to 23 June 1948, whereafter they will be immediately opened and read.

There is available for this work an amount not to exceed \$35,000.00, namely \$12,500.00 allotted by the City of San Francisco, and \$22,500.00 which the Gjøa Foundation stands ready to contribute to the City for completion of the work. . . .

Unfortunately for all concerned only two firms bid on the project, both their prices being approximately \$45,000.00 which were rejected as being in excess of the available funds. The raising of additional funds



Inboard Profile and Deck Plan

was out of the question and the only other course was to revise the plans and specifications, omitting some items and simplifying others. This was done and new bids were received by the Park Commission on 8 November 1948. An effort was made to interest competent firms in the project and this resulted in five bids, three of which were within the \$35,000.00 limit. The low bidder was the Payne Construction Company of San Francisco whose bid of \$24.803.00 was accepted by the Park Commission on 29 November 1948.

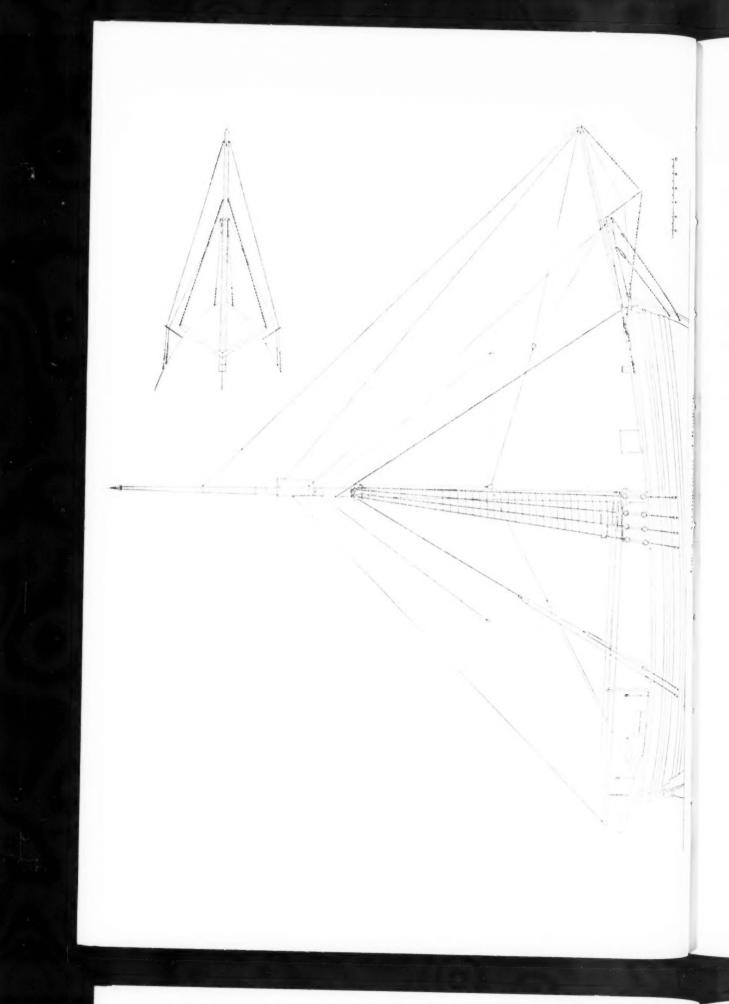
The final restoration period started early in December 1948 with a general cleaning up of the assorted material in the house, most of which had to be discarded. Some items were useful as models for fabricating new parts such as skylights, booby hatch, rudder and spars. The new work proceeded generally as shown on the accompanying plans in the slightly unorthodox manner of deck planking, houses and bulwarks first in order to make use of existing staging. As this staging was removed the hull was planked down to meet the original structure. The lumber used was generally Douglas fir of the sizes noted in Appendix A.

As the work progressed, the entire interior of the vessel, old and new material, was coated with a copper preservative compound. As further aids to preservation, scuppers having drain pipes leading through the bottom of the hull were placed in the low point of the deck, port and starboard, and mushroom ventilators were fitted in the deck at bow and stern. To ensure a circulation of air within the hull several holes were

cut in the bottom planking.

The windlass, pump gear, and halliard winch were in fair condition and nearly complete. They were cleaned up, reassembled and placed in their proper positions, but no attempt was made to render them operable or to replace missing small parts. These units were originally driven by the 'Dan' engine through a complicated arrangement of chain and gear drives. Other original items include the anchors and chain, wooden stern davits, iron gooseneck davits, mooring pipes, various wooden cleats, and the W.C. houses.

As much of the work as possible was done while the house over the hull afforded protection from the elements. By early March 1949 the hull work was essentially complete and the house was dismantled, bringing $Gj\phi a$ again into public view. On Tuesday, 9 March, the new mast was stepped; in accordance with tradition three Norwegian and two United States coins were placed in the step. Many had hoped that the original mast could be spliced and re-used but the rot noted in the survey extended further than anticipated so a new one was fabricated.



The bowsprit and jibboom are also new but the main boom and yard are the originals. The gaff is original in the sense that it had been on the vessel for forty-three years but it did not make the Northwest Passage. It was fabricated in Nome to replace a broken one that was cut up there and the pieces used as souvenirs.

The rigging follows the original as closely as possible and is all new. The standing rigging of the mast and bowsprit are complete but the running rigging has been limited to the braces for securing the yard and the backstays. The arrangement of the backstays was altered during the voyage; that used is based on the Nome photograph. Vic Knudsen, rigger, of San Francisco, did a fine job and included many small items not required by the specifications such as worming, parcelling and serving the full length of the 11/8-inch diameter wire rope shrouds. The iron work was fabricated by ninety-two-year-old E. F. Tway, shipsmith, who has been working on the San Francisco waterfront since 1881. Such a rigging job has not been done in San Francisco for nearly forty years.

The reconstruction of $Gj\phi a$ was completed in April and commemorative exercises celebrating the event were held aboard the vessel on Saturday, 14 May 1949. Mr. Rolf B. Schou acted as chairman and the speakers were Consul General Jorgen Galbe, Mr. Erik Krag, Mr. Harvey E. Teller, President of the San Francisco Park Commission, and Miss Nora A. Blickfeldt. Also participating were the Norwegian Singing Society of San Francisco, the Normanna Glee Club of Oakland, and Cadets of the San Rafael Military Academy. Plate 4 shows Gjoa as she now appears in her berth in Golden Gate Park.

Appendix A

Excerpts From Specifications

The following plans accompany and form a part of these specifications:

- 1. Present Condition of Hull
- 2. Midship Section
- g. Inboard Profile and Deck Plan
- 4. Main House, Hatches and Skylights
- 5. Outboard Profile
- 6. Arrangement of Rigging
- 7. Forward Windlass
- g. Midship Winch, Fife Rail and Pump Gear

HULL-

The intent is to use standard sizes of lumber where possible—finished sizes may vary slightly from those given. Material from the original ship shall be used if possible.

Keelson—About 12" x 12" in as long lengths as possible, scarphed as required, to be fitted on top of existing keelson and through bolted.

- FRAMES—finished about 8" sided x 5½" moulded to suit existing frames at deck level. Additional cant frames to be fitted about as shown on Plan No. 3.
- MAIN BEAMS—finished about 7½" sided x 7½"-6¾" moulded to suit existing beams—camber about 4" in 20 ft. Additional full and partial beams to be fitted about as shown on Plan No. 3.
- INTERMEDIATE BEAMS—finished about 3½" sided x 7½"-6¾" moulded—camber about 4" in 20 ft. To be fitted as shown on Plan No. 3.
- CARLINS—finished about 7½" sided x 5½" moulded. Additional carlins to be fitted as shown on Plan No. 3.
- CLAMP—finished 41/2" x 10".
- BILGE STRINGER—finished 41/2" x 10".
- PLANKING—finished about 1½" x 7½". Sheerstrake and wales 2½" x 7½". Planks should be at least three frames in length and butts should be shifted according to normal practice. Seams to be properly prepared and payed with an approved seam composition.
- Covering Board—finished 4½" x 14"—shaped as shown on Midship Section. To be slotted for frame futtock where same forms bulwark stanchion.
- Decking—finished 1½" x 55%". Deck to be lined-off in a shipshape manner about as shown on Plan No. 3. Planks should span at least three beams and butts should be shifted according to normal practice. Seams to be properly prepared, caulked and payed with marine glue.
- PLANKING AND DECKING BATTENS—finished 15/8" x 35/8". To be fitted inside planking and under decking about midway between existing frames and beams.
- BULWARK STANCHIONS—generally the forward frame futtock shall be carried up to form the bulwark stanchion. Due to the irregular frame spacing certain frames shall be flushed off at the level of the beams and separate stanchions of the same dimensions as the frame futtock shall be fitted as shown on Plan No. 3.
- BULWARKS—30" from top of beam to underside of cap. Wash strake—finished 25%" x 7½". Rail clamp—finished 15%" x 5½". Cap rail—finished 25%" x 9". Pin rail—finished 25%" x 7". Planking—13" thick.
- MAIN HOUSE—Coamings— $4'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, corner posts— $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, headers and miscellaneous framing— $2\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{5}{8}''$, beams— $2\frac{5}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, sides and ends— $1\frac{3}{8}''$ T & G—4'' wide, house top— $1\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4''$.
- SKYLIGHTS coamings 25/8" x 55/8", ridge—35/8" x 55/8", sides and ends—25/8" thick, covers—11/2" thick.
- BOOBY HATCH—New booby hatch to be constructed similar to original to suit spacing of beams and carlins.
- W. C. Houses—existing W.C. houses to be restored and located on deck as shown on plans.
- RUDDER AND TILLER—to be constructed to existing originals.
- Counter and Taffrail—counter planking to be about 2" thick to suit existing stern framing. Taffrail planking, cap and pin rails to be same as for bulwarks. Existing centerline section of pin rail with cleats to be worked in.
- CATHEADS—existing catheads to be reconditioned and located as shown on plans. RAISED DECK FORWARD—to be constructed of \(\frac{1}{6}\)" planking between bowsprit, catheads and bulwarks as shown on plans.

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- MAIN SHROUDS—11/8" diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized set up with 21/2" circumference manila lanyard in 7" diameter deadeyes. Shrouds to have steel rod sheer pole and to be rattled down with 12 thread manila. Upper eight ratlines to be 21/2" x 1" wood rungs seized to shrouds. Lower ends of shrouds to be seized around thimbles.
- Fore Stay $-1\frac{1}{8}$ " diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized. JIB Stay $-\frac{7}{8}$ " diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized.
- FLYING-JIB STAY $-\frac{5}{8}$ " diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized. Topmast Stay $-\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized.
- Chain Plates—11/4" diameter galvanized steel rod with forged eyes at each end. Upper eye to take pin of deadeye strap; lower end to take upper bolt of backing link about as shown on plan.
- Bobstays—5/8" diameter chain galvanized. Lower bobstay purchase—5" wood blocks—2" circumference manila falls.
- Bowsprit Shrouds—5/8" diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized.
- BACKSTAY PENDANTS—1" diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized—8" wood block.
- BACKSTAY WHIPS—5/8" diameter 6 x 19 galvanized wire rope.
- Backstay Purchases—7" wood blocks—23/4" circumference manila falls.
- Topping Lift—3/4" diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized.
- YARD LIFTS—5/8" diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized.
- YARD BRACES—pendants— 5/8" diameter 6 x 7 wire rope galvanized. Purchases—7" wood blocks—23/4" circumference manila falls.

Bibliography

- Inasmuch as Gjoa's history may be verified from several sources, it is deemed advisable to omit the usual footnote references. The following are listed for those who may be interested in delying further.
- Roald Amundsen, The North West Passage (London: A. Constable & Co., Ltd., 1008).
- Roald Amundsen, My Life as an Explorer (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927). Helmer Hanssen, Voyages of a Modern Viking (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1996)
- Ralph Enger, 'An Account of the Perilous Voyage of the Ship Gjøa,' San Francisco Life, Vol. 15, No. 5 (May 1947), 7-10. Contains many photographs of the beaching in Golden Gate Park.
- San Francisco Examiner, Saturday, 20 October 1906, through Thursday, 25 October 1906.
- Historic American Merchant Marine Survey No. 16-9, 6 plans and 12 photographs.

William A. Baker is a naval architect employed by Bethlehem Steel Company—Shipbuilding Division—since 1934. Along with six others connected with the restoration of Gjøa, he received the St. Olav's Medal from King Haakon VII of Norway.

Yankee Whalers at the Bay of Islands

BY ROBERT W. KENNY

NTIL the seemingly invincible Japanese war machine conquered and occupied in swift succession the Malay Peninsula. the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands few Americans had anything but the haziest notions of the geography and history of the East Indies and Oceania. Australia and New Zealand were vaguely remembered as members of the British Commonwealth; suddenly they became defense bastions of vital importance in the war against Japan, and in the early months of 1942 American troops were hurriedly shipped 'down under.' While they may have greeted the new world with a 'wild surmise' they actually were not 'silent on a peak in Darien.' Mixing readily, in the usual extroverted American fashion, they talked freely, and not always modestly, of the land from which they had come referring to it casually, and without intentional offense, as 'God's Country.' Rare indeed was the GI who realized that well over a hundred years ago Yankee ships and Yankee sailors had been frequent visitors to the shores of both Australia and New Zealand and that in American ports such as Nantucket, New Bedford, New London, Salem, Warren, Bristol, Sag Harbor, and Stonington, the settlements at Botany Bay, Port Jackson, Cook Straits, and the Bay of Islands were already familiar to a hardy generation of Yankee seamen. The 'social noise' of our troops in the blacked out streets of Auckland and Wellington was but a century old echo of Yankee seamen on Black Guard Beach at Kororarika in the Bay of Islands.

The American Revolution temporarily interrupted our whaling industry. Many Nantucket ships were captured or destroyed by the British, and many Nantucketers took service in English whaling ships rather than be impressed into the Royal Navy. Even after the close of hostilities many Yankees continued to man English ships as they could not, under American registry, profitably sell their oil in England because of the heavy import duties levied on foreign ships.

British sea power thus enabled the British whaler to get a head start on the Americans, and in the years immediately following the Revolution they exploited, practically without competition, the Southern Fishery, as the South Atlantic grounds were called. American recovery, however, was rapid; the hunt for new whaling grounds was an intensive one, and soon resulted in the invasion of the Pacific. The first whaler to round Cape Horn was the British ship, *Emelia*, owned by Charles Enderby and Son of London, largely manned by a Nantucket crew, which rounded the Cape in 1789 in its search for whales. *Emelia's* voyage was a successful one, and she returned to London with a full cargo in 1790. (The Enderbys, by the way, are highly praised by Herman Melville in *Moby Dich*.)

Yankee whalers were not far behind, for in 1791 the ship *Beaver*, of Nantucket, Worth, Master, rounded the Horn and cruised the whole west coast of South America. She was quickly followed by others, and there ensued more than half a century of prosperous whaling which continued until the Civil War when Confederate commerce raiders, such as *Alabama* and *Shenandoah*, destroyed most of our whaling fleet, and more than forty whalers loaded with stone were sunk at the entrance to Charleston Harbor in an abortive effort to seal up that port.

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While the earliest Pacific whalers hunted off the South American coast, it was not long before they moved westward to the various grounds in the Central Pacific. Australia, and finally the coast of Japan. Lieutenant Wilkes enumerated the principal whaling areas in the Pacific.

Whales are found in the first belt on the north side of the equator, to the southward of the Sandwich Islands, and thence westward as far as the Mulgrave Islands, for the greater part of the year; but the only spot or space they are known to abound at any particular season within this belt, is to the westward of the Gallipagos.

In the second belt, they range from the coast of Japan to the northwest coast of America and California; this they frequent from May till November. In the month of July they are found off the Bonin Islands, and between them and the coast of Japan.

The third belt comprises the ocean from the coast of South America to the Kingsmill Group, including the Marquesas, Society, and Friendly Islands, the Samoan and Feejee Groups. Within these are the spaces known as the 'on-shore and off-shore grounds.'

The fourth belt extends from the southern tropic to the latitude of 50° S. The most profitable time for cruising within it is in the months of March, April, and May to the eastward of New Zealand. After that date, along and between the parallels of 22° and 28° S., from the coast of New Holland to that of South America. The portion of

¹ W. J. Dakin. Whalemen Adventurers (2nd revised edition, Sydney: Angus and Robertson 1938), p. 1-5.

sea between New Holland and New Zealand, is called the 'middle ground,' and is frequently found very profitable.

There are two routes by which our whale-ships can enter the Pacific; one by the Cape of Good Hope and round New Holland; the other, by Cape Horn.

To take the first route, they ought generally to time their departure so as to meet the season off New Zealand in March, and this is also the best course for ships sailing in the autumn from the United States. They will then reach their whalingground at the earliest possible season, and place themselves at once in a situation to reap the harvest of which they are in search; and they would, in all probability, have time to refit and recruit after the outward voyage. This is much more important for insuring success in this employment than very many either of the masters or owners are aware. After a few days in port, and a supply of fresh vegetables, they would find both their ships and crews in a better condition to take the sea and keep it. After remaining six weeks or two months on the New Zealand Ground, until the winter season and boisterous weather approach, the vessels should pass to the northward, towards Sunday Island, and thence cruise to the eastward, between the latitudes of 22° and 28° S., or even in a few degrees higher latitude. The lower latitudes are, however, found to be the most frequented by the whale. Along these parallels they proceed as far as the coast of South America, so as to arrive there in the course of the month of September, after passing part of the time to the westward of the islands of Juan Fernandez and Massafuera.2

From the beginnings of South Pacific whaling until British sovereignty was established in New Zealand by Captain William Hobson, R.N., on 30 January 1840, the most famous place for refit, 'wooding and watering' as the whalers called it, was in the Bay of Islands located well to the north on the eastern coast of the North Island in Lat. 35° 10′ S., Long. 174° 20′ E. Charles Darwin and Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., both accurate observers, describe the Bay in very similar terms. In his *Diary* for 21 December 1835, Darwin wrote:

Early in the morning we entered the Bay of Islands. . . . The country is hilly but with a smooth outline; and it is deeply intersected by numerous arms extending from the Bay. The surface appears from a distance as if clothed with coarse pasture, but this in truth is nothing but fern. On the most distant hills, as well as in patches in some of the valleys, there is a great deal of Woodland. The general tint, however, of the landscape is a not very bright green, but resembles the country a short distance to the Southward of Concepcion in Chili. In several parts of the Bay, close down to the waters edge, little villages of square tidy houses were scattered. Three Whaling Ships were lying at anchor; but with the exception of these and a few canoes now and then crossing from one shore to the other an air of extreme quietness reigned over the whole district.³

² C. Wilkes. Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842 (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), V, 487-489.

 $^{^3}$ C. Darwin, Diary of the Voyage of H. M. S. 'Beagle' (Cambridge: The University Press, 1933). pp. 359-360.

Wilkes writes:

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From the splendid panorama of Mr. Burford, I had pictured the Bay of Islands to myself as a place of surpassing beauty, and I could not but feel gratified at the idea of paying it a visit; it did not, however, realize my expectations. It might with more propriety be called the Bay of Inlets. The best idea that can be given of its geographical features is to liken it to an open hand with the fingers spread apart. The land is much indented with bays, or arms of the sea running up among hills which are nearly insulated. . . . Four rivers flow into them: the Kawa Kawa, Kiri Kiri, Loytangi [Waitangi] and Waicaddie into which the tide flows a few miles.

The land has the appearance of barren hills and there is so little level ground that terraces are cut in the hills to build the cottages on.... Some fine views are to be met with from the elevated ridges. Many of our gentlemen were struck with the resemblances to Terra del Fuego.⁴

Unattractive as is the land described, the descriptions fail to mention certain very obvious advantages that the Bay of Islands possessed for ship masters and their crews. First, there were many protected anchorages for ships in deep water close to shore. Second, back in the hills was a plentiful supply of timber useful not only for firewood but of sufficiently good quality to be used for masts and spars. (After the establishment of the first colony at New South Wales in 1788, where thousands were 'doom'd the long isles of Sydney Cove to see' it was customary for ships of the Royal Navy, on the homeward voyage, to put in at the Bay of Islands and other New Zealand harbors and cut masts and spars of kauri pine for use in the royal dock yards of England.) Finally, pure water was available in abundance and there was the pleasing prospect of obtaining fresh vegetables, fruit and meat, chiefly pork.

Captain Cook on his second and third voyages, 1773 and 1777, had left sows, boars and goats on the South Island, but swine were first brought to the Bay of Islands by Governor King of New South Wales in 1793 and given to the natives for breeding purposes. On this same visit King gave the Maoris seed potatoes which they cultivated intensively and by 1805 had many acres under cultivation and a thriving trade with whaling ships.⁵

Life on the best of Yankee whalers, commanded by humane and Christian skippers, was a hard one. On a whaler run by a cruel or tyrannical skipper it must have been sheer hell. As Wilkes pointed out, generally half of a whaler's crew were green hands shipping for the first time on a voyage which was seldom less than eighteen months in duration and was frequently twice as long. The breaking-in process for these landlubbers could not have been easy.

⁴ Wilkes, op. cit., II. 370-372.

⁵ S. Marsden, Letters and Journals (Otago, N. Z.: The University Press, 1932), p. 527.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century the personnel of whaling ships were generally of Anglo-Saxon stock drawn from southern New England seaport towns or the adjoining hinterland. An examination of whaling logs shows, however, that by the 1830's Yankee whaling masters began to fill out the ships' complement with Portuguese signed on in the Azores, Madeira or the Cape Verde Islands. Indeed in many cases the captain left his home port and made course for the Azores for the express purpose of filling out his ship's complement with Portuguese who were excellent small boatmen. It is an interesting speculation whether the Portuguese element in southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island today did not have its origin in this practice, as many of them may well have stayed ashore here at the conclusion of a whaling voyage.

Sickness and accidents took their toll in the Pacific and frequently skippers were short handed and not too scrupulous about where they got their much needed replacements. As a result we find whalers putting into Sydney in New South Wales and frequently leaving with convicts from the penal settlement, 'currency lads' or other social outcasts who were 'on the beach.' Governor King of New South Wales was cognizant of this problem, for in some observations on a bill concerning Australian trade, he

wrote to Earl Camden as follows:

Is it necessary in this Bill to make any provision for the prevention of American intercourse with our infant colonies? If the existing laws are sufficient for that purpose, instructions ought to be sent to the Governor to enforce them with severity. The mischief the Americans have done by stealing convicts from Sydney, and when they found them useless or mischievous by landing them on the South Sea Islands, is almost incalculable. Otaheite is said to be at present in the hands of about 100 white men, chiefly English convicts, who lend their assistance as warriors to the chief, whoever he may be, who offers them the most acceptable wages, payable in women, hogs, etc.; and we are told that these banditti have by the introduction of diseases, by devastation, murder, and all kinds of European barbarism, reduced the population of that once interesting island to less than one-tenth of what it was when the Endeavor visited it in 1768. Surely these people will, if not otherwise provided for, soon become buccaneers and pirates.⁶

Polynesians were often shanghaied from their island homes, impressed into service and frequently dumped at some other island when the ship was full and about to start homeward. The Maoris were keen small boatmen, rugged in physique and generally fearless. From the Bay of Islands many a Maori shipped out on Yankee whalers. He generally lived to regret it, if he lived.

⁶ R. McNab ed., Historical Records of New Zealand (Wellington), p. 277.

A case in point is *Glide* of Salem which put in at the Bay of Islands for food and water on 17 September 1829.

Captain Archer secured the services of six New Zealanders to assist us whilst we should remain in the Pacific. What the conditions of the bargain were, I do not know, but the natives seemed well enough satisfied with it. They were provided with comfortable clothing, and were evidently pleased with the notion of a voyage.

The Journal continued:

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Thursday, September 24. The *Glide* after remaining about a week steered N.E. intending to touch at Tonga Taboo to lay in a good store of provisions. As the ship was going out of the harbor, our six New Zealanders manifested the strongest emotion at parting with their friends. In their paroxysms of grief they poured forth the most dismal wailing, and tears fell thick and fast down their tattooed faces.⁷

Glide was not a whaler, but a trading vessel, engaged in the beche de mer and tortoise shell trade with China and the Philippines. Generally conditions on trading vessels were better than on whalers, but at Miambooa in the Fijis the first of the Maoris jumped ship, although the author of the Journal states: 'As we never received any information respecting him, it is probable that he perished trying to escape. . . . He and his companions on board had been kindly treated by all, and I know of no cause for dissatisfaction except the restraints of a sailor's life.' The other five also went back into the bush, preferring life among hostile Fijians to 'the restraints of a sailor's life.'

A British observer of twelve years' residence in the South Pacific was struck by the terrific mixture of races in the average whaler's crew.

The mixture of people to be found amongst the South-Scamen is extraordinary; not one of the islands of the Pacific and South Seas, but furnish many useful hands for the fisheries. New Hollanders, low as they are in the scale of humanity, are yet to be found amongst the crews of those ships; Chilians, Peruvians, Patagonians, every cross of the Spaniard, Portuguese, and South American Indians, as well as some Malays, and samples of every European race, Dane, Swede, Dutchman, Frenchman, Italian, all are here mixed up. Negroes who have been emancipated or purchased their freedom, compose, in some instances, a considerable portion of the crew of Yankee whalers, and numerous convicts who have in various ways escaped from the colonies, swell the number of this varied and oddly assorted throng.

The state of some of the Pacific Islands, owing to the number of runaways of every nation that escape from whalers when they visit any island, is scarcely to be conceived. Not unfrequently, indeed, unruly individuals of a crew are landed with or without their own consent, as the case may be, on some one of the thousand scattered islands that dot those seas.

The tale of one is that of all. After desertion, connections are formed with native

⁷ Wreck of the Glide (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1948), pp. 22-23.

females, and for years, sometimes for life, they remain in a half-savage state with their paramours, adopted generally into the native tribes. Not unfrequently they get tired of this life, from various causes, and when a ship calls, that they think will suit them, they engage themselves on board, remain five or six months, to desert again at the end of that time at some other island.

Large sums in wages, earned on board, are often left behind without a thought; though sometimes the owners suffer by the deserter having overdrawn what was due to him in slops and tobacco.

The writer, from an intimate knowledge of the South Sea trade, does not conceive, that classing vessels of all nations together, one half the crews that leave the ports from which they have originally sailed, return in the same ships, if they ever return at all. Desertion amongst those islands, where, by the aid of a sunny clime, the means of subsistence is so easily procured, and sensual appetites so readily gratified, owing to the disposition and simple ideas of a half savage race, is not always confined to the hands of a ship, it often extends to the officers.⁸

To these islands the white man brought his diseases to which the natives were peculiarly susceptible. In addition, he brought rum, tobacco, his trade gew-gaws and firearms. The net result was the debauchment of the Polynesian. A Hawaiian anthropologist writes: 'No study of the ethnology of the Pacific can omit or fail to give its proper prominence to the whalers and their intercourse with the islanders of this ocean . . . and the effects of this intercourse will only cease when the weaker race has wholly succumbed to the advance of the white race.' ⁹

Prior to 1814 there was no formal settlement of white men at the Bay of Islands. To be sure, an occasional renegade sailor jumped ship and lived among the Maoris, frequently going native and producing numerous half caste offspring. The local chiefs had some dealings in timber and food with the occasional ship which put into the sheltered anchorages for overhaul. The value of the trade to the chiefs was sufficient for them to protect the few white men who remained to help them engage in it.

In June of 1814 the brig *Active*, owned by the Church Missionary Society of London, arrived at the Bay of Islands from Sydney, N.S.W. The leader of this movement, the Reverend Samuel Marsden, a chaplain in New South Wales, had permission to send an advance party of lay missionaries which was well received, and the prayers of the Church of England were said at Kororarika, which in Maori means Beautiful Penguin, on 19 June. The party soon sailed back to Sydney with three native chiefs, Hongi, Koro Koro, and Ruatara, to return in December with Marsden and some convict servants. On Christmas day Marsden preached to the

⁸ J. C. Byrne, Twelve Years Wanderings in the British Colonies, 1835-1847 (London: Richard Bentley, 1848), I, 67-68.

⁹ Dakin, op. cit., p. 68.

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natives from the text, 'Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy.' Two hundred acres at Rangihihoua were purchased for twelve axes, and the land conveyed to the Church Missionary Society in a deed which had Hongi's face tattoo inscribed on it in lieu of a signature. This was the first all white settlement at the Bay of Islands. The missionaries made few converts at first but were soon engaged in trading with the natives for timber, flax and food stuffs. The Anglicans were followed in 1822 by a Wesleyan and in 1838 by a Roman Catholic settlement.¹⁰

As trade with New South Wales increased, native villages began to have many more white residents, none of whose motives were as disinterested as those of Marsden's followers. Whaling captains lived ashore in native huts while their vessels were undergoing refit. Deserters from ships went into the bush until their ships had cleared, emerging then to live in native pas (villages) or build rude huts on the beach. Convicts from New South Wales and legitimate traders added their civilizing influence.

The natives, as shipping increased, found that they could obtain metal tools, fish hooks, blankets, cotton cloth, arms, ammunition and liquor in exchange for potatoes, kumaras, dressed flax, pork and preserved tattooed heads. The chiefs also developed a lucrative trade in returning, for a price, runaway sailors. Another very thriving business was that of supplying crews of ships with temporary wives from among the unmarried Maori lasses. All of these activities both native and pakeha (white) were carried on without any governmental restraint, for British sovereignty was not established until nearly thirty years after Marsden's missionaries took up their work in 1814.

John B. Knights, master of the brig *Spy*, a trading vessel from Salem, visited the Bay of Islands in March 1833, and remained for about three weeks. In his *Journal* he classified the white inhabitants into two groups: (1) Missionaries and adventurers and (2) bare-faced villains. The missionaries and adventurers were both engaged in the trade of supplying the wants of visiting ships, and the blacksmiths and carpenters among them had steady and lucrative employment. He writes:

It is impossible to place these people in too low a light. They are decidedly the greatest sharpers and descend to the meanest and lowest subterfuges of any men I ever fell in with. They are most punctual at church and are appendages of the missions, some of them going about on Sundays catechising the native children. The missionaries, having a bank in Sydney, frequently furnish them the means of making very considerable purchases from Vessels who are obliged to sell them oil to pay for repairs and supplies. And woe betide a captain who allows his respect for the outward forms of religion to lull him into a belief that all are morally honest.

¹⁰ W. P. Reeves, New Zealand (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), pp. 98 et seq.

He closes his appraisal of this first group by noting that they are always disparaging each other. 'The other class is far less to be feared,' he writes, 'because they act in character and seem what they are, "bare-faced villians." 'Runaway sailors and escapees from Botany Bay live under the protection of chiefs in the bush, and make a living selling rum to the crews when they come on shore. 'To give this beverage more stimulus they infuse into it a good portion of tobacco. They frequently induce sailors to bring their gear ashore, and when they have eaten and drunk up the value of the property it is seized in payment of the bill. These land sharks then act as agents to get their victims shipped aboard another vessel, and the new captain has to pay the fee to get them.' ¹¹

The Bay of Islands settlement was, then, a decidedly mixed one composed of natives, half castes, missionaries, honest and dishonest traders, respectable artisans, escaped convicts, and runaway sailors. Henry Williams, a resident missionary, in a report to the Church Missionary Society

in January 1839 gave a rough population estimate:

Of the number of White Persons residing in the Northern Island it is difficult to determine; but I should think there are not fewer than 1100 men, women, and children; not to mention those children born of Native Women to European Fathers. In this number I do not include any of the Mission Families. Of the 1100 Whites, there are a few French probably 20. Of the Americans say 50. The remainder are British Subjects. Of those not connected with the Mission, there are, I believe, 26 families in the Bay of Islands, as traders. The number of seamen running away from the shipping fluctuates. The grog sellers in the Bay of Islands number about 50.12

Reference has been made to the complete lack of any legal government. There had been established a self-constituted settler's association, which administered a rough and ready sort of justice, frequently with tar and feathers, in the manner of the Vigilantes on our Western frontier. After 1814 the government of New South Wales appointed some whites and native chiefs as Justices of the Peace but there was no power to back up their decisions. A letter to Lord Bathhurst in 1823 states: 'The Reverend Mr. Kendall has received a commission as a Magistrate, but it does not appear that he possesses the means of rendering effective assistance to the natives against the oppressions of the crews of European vessels, and of controlling in any degree the intercourse that subsists between them.' English sailors were quick to declare themselves Americans when the Magistrates tried to take them in hand.

With more than a century's hindsight it now seems amazing that the

¹¹ Salem, Peabody Museum. MS. John B. Knights, Journal of Brig Spy of Salem.

¹² R. M. Ross, New Zealand's First Capital (Wellington, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1946), pp. 13-14-

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British government was so tardy in exercising sovereignty over New Zealand. On 9 November 1769, James Cook at Mercury Bay had taken possession of New Zealand for the use of His Majesty George III. In 1783 Great Britain had lost one colonial empire, and for some years thereafter was content to curb imperial expansion. A succession of British ministers resisted all efforts to acquire New Zealand. To the Friends of Colonization the Duke of Wellington declared that England already had colonies enough. It might be said that the British government was forced into assuming sovereignty by external pressure: the Yankee interest in the whale and seal fisheries, the young French Baron de Thierry's claim to be 'Sovereign Chief of New Zealand and King of Nukahiva,' and the advent of a French Roman Catholic mission headed by Bishop Pompallier.

For years the British government's reluctance to assume control of New Zealand had the strong backing of the Church Missionary Society. Prompted perhaps by Bishop Pompallier's activities, the Society's attitude changed, however, and on 16 November 1837, thirteen native chiefs, with missionary encouragement, applied to King William for his protection against the tribes of Marian. (The natives called Frenchmen Marians after Marian du Fresne, captain of a French ship massacred by the Maoris in 1772.) The answer to this petition was not the assumption of sovereignty, but the appointment as British Resident of James Busby, a former Collector of Internal Revenue in New South Wales. Because Britain had no sovereign rights Busby could apply only moral suasion in his efforts to settle the differences which arose among the missionaries, white traders. ex-convicts, runaway sailors, and the turbulent Maoris. Lacking both political authority and moral ascendency, he was soon dubbed by the Maoris as "He manuwa pu kore'—'A man of war without guns.' The lads at Kororarika—Black Guard Beach—really gave him a rough time. He did, however, allow the native chiefs to choose a flag. 'Stars and stripes appeared in the design thanks to the sinister suggestion of a Yankee whaling skipper.' So runs a local tradition. Like many local traditions it has little truth to recommend it. In 1840 when New Zealand became part of the British Empire the use of this flag was discontinued and it was adopted as a house flag by the Shaw, Savill, & Albion Shipping Company, and is in use today. The flag in question has a white field divided by a blue St. George's cross and does not resemble closely the Stars and Stripes. 18

The area thus briefly described was not the occasional anchorage of a casual whaler, but was the principal rendezvous. 16,000 miles from

¹³ Reeves, op. cit., pp. 127-135; J. C. Beaglehole, 'Captain Hobson and the New Zealand Company,' Smith College Studies in History, XIII (1927), 15-27.

home, of a thriving American industry. From 1800 until the late 1840's our whalers exceeded in number those of England, France, and New South Wales combined. The British whaling industry, it is true, was restricted by the East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth in 1601. Their charter gave the company a monopoly of all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope. Certain concessions must already have been made for we find in 1797 certain English merchants petitioning Whitehall for the removal of the restrictions which prevented their fishing North of the Equator and East of 51° East Longitude. On 1 August 1800 the Enderby brothers and the Campion brothers, the leading English whaling establishments, pointing out in a letter to Lord Liverpool the loss to British trade from the East India Company's policy, wrote: 'The Americans, hearing that New South Wales is considered within the chartered seas of the East India Company, and that no British merchant can send goods to that colony without risque of seizure have at times sent small vessels with investments of goods on their way to India and the Northwest coast of America. . . . There is no doubt that if the restrictions are still continued they will monopolize all the advantages of the trade to New South Wales.' The petition was successful: restrictions on trading and whaling were relaxed, but the Yankees by now were running well in front.14

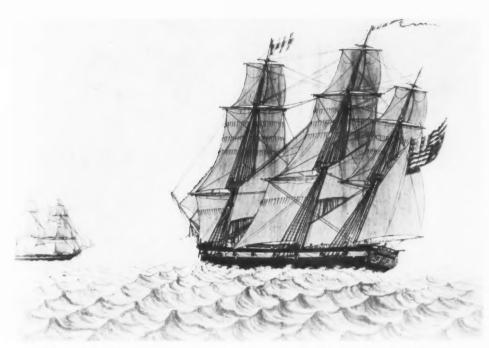
Had the two nations started from scratch the result might well have been the same. An unsigned letter to the *London Times* of 9 June 1846

somewhat strengthens this belief.

SOUTH SEA WHALERS

Sir, —In your valuable paper of this date, you have an interesting article on the whale fishery of the Americans. I have served with the vessels of that country for a period of nearly six years, and am particularly acquainted with the details of this hazardous occupation. You seem to be surprised that the English whalers should have fallen off, whilst those of the Americans should have increased. A few words will explain it, - the greater cost of fitting out whalers here, the drunkenness, incapacity, and want of energy of the masters and crews. I have known English whalers to be out four years and take 1,300 or 1,400 barrels of oil, and American vessels cruising almost on the same 'ground' would probably have captured twice as much. It would not interest you or your readers, were I to enter into the details of the difference in the modus operandi of English and American whalers. In the one there is order, obedience, energy, temperance; in the other, generally want of discipline, drunkenness, and incapacity to take whales when they do see them. One need not be surprised at the result. But the object and purport of my addressing you is to give you as near as I can calculate the number of foreigners employed in the American whale trade. I am practically acquainted with the subject, for I have made it a study.

¹⁴ Dakin, op. cit.. pp. 15-16.



Ship Glide of Salem, 306 tons. Built 1811, and wrecked in the Fiji Islands, March 1832

From a watercolor by George Ropes. Photograph by courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem



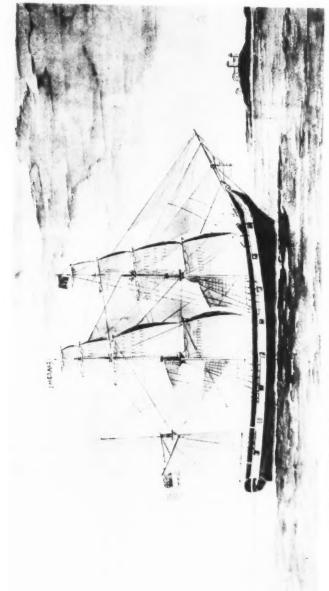
Ship Glide From a watercolor by Antoine Roux fils. Photograph by courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem

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Bark Emendd of Salem, 271 tons, built, 1823, as a ship. Altered to a bark, 1836.

Lost on coast of Madagascar 10 March 1845

Reproduced by courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem

A whale ship manning four boats carries thirty-two hands, and most of them are now fitted out for lowering that number of boats. Out of these (as an average), one-fifth are English, Irish, or Scotch, one-fifth Western or Cape Verde Islanders, (Portuguese) and three-fifths American seamen. The fleet will not employ quite 20,000 men, for some part of it contains barks, brigs, and even schooners, but I enclose you a printed list of all the whalemen, and you may take it for granted that every vessel above 300 tons carries thirty-two hands. There are upwards of 11,000 of American seamen in the service, inured to every danger and to the extremes of hardship and toil. These men think lightly of lowering boats after whales, the ship being at the time unable to carry a single reefed topsail.

I have little sympathy for the Americans, for, as a body, I do not believe you could well find a more dishonest people, but their energy in bringing the trade to the pitch it has arrived at, deserves the highest encomium. Ten years since, 'Honolulu,' the capital of 'Oahu,' one of the Sandwich Islands, was a small insignificant village; it is now a flourishing town, with streets, dock-yards, and stores, and all this has been done by the American whalemen. The north-west fleet generally recruit at 'Maui,' (another of the Sandwich Islands) and the merchants at 'Oahu' take goods and bills of exchange in return for the supplies which are furnished to the ships through them. Two or three hundred of the whalemen are annually supplied from these islands with everything they require, and the goods and money which they circulate in the island have caused the present prosperity. If ever a war should break out with America, our Government, it is hoped, will pounce upon these whalemen.

The American attitude was one of pardonable pride in their achievement if we can judge from the statement of Captain Frederick Fish, Master of *Montreal* of New Bedford, who wrote from Monganui, 14 January 1852:

This morning his excellency, the Governor [Grey] together with all the officers of the English men of war visited our ships for the purpose of seeing and inspecting an American whale ship. Our accommodations being on a larger and more splendid scale than any ship in the harbor, the selection was a very fortunate one, and our visitors left highly delighted in their visit, having no doubt formed the most exalted opinion of the style, comfort, and convenience with which the American whalemen are fitted out.—The Governor and the English officer were thunderstruck at the sight of so large a fleet of American shipping (17 ships) lying so snug and quiet at their anchor in her majesty's dominions, and the former gentleman expressed his determination to commence a settlement here forthwith, and so it is that a few whale ships enter some remote secluded bay and commence traffic with the natives when lo, in a twinkling, a settlement springs up by magic—and all owing to the energy and perseverance of the American whaling fleet. In the afternoon 5 more American ships came to anchor in the outer bay. 15

Wilkes, writing a little earlier, said:

The whaling interest, taking into consideration the extent to which it has been car-

¹⁵ New Bedford, Old Dartmouth Historical Society. MS. Log of Bark Montreal,

ried by our country men, may be almost claimed as peculiarly American. There are few employments in which the enterprise and industry of our countrymen are so well developed as in this, or in which so much hardihood or so many resources are required to insure success.

Our whaling fleet may be said at this very day to whiten the Pacific Ocean with its canvas, and the proceeds of this fishery give comfort and happiness to many thousands of our citizens. The ramifications of the business extend to all branches of trade, are spread through the whole Union, and its direct or secondary influence would seem to recommend it to the especial protection and fostering care of the government.

Our whaling fleet now counts six hundred and seventy-five vessels, the greater part of which are ships of four hundred tons burden, amounting in all to two hundred thousand tons. The majority of these vessels cruise in the Pacific Ocean. Between fifteen and sixteen thousand of our countrymen are required to man these vessels, half of whom go to sea for the first time as 'green hands,' and return after a voyage of fatigue and hazard, transformed into sailors.

The value of the whale fleet is estimated at not less than twenty-five millions of dollars, yielding an annual return of five millions, extracted from the ocean by hard toil, exposure, and danger. The estimated quantity of oil imported into the United States is about four hundred thousand barrels, nearly one-half of which is sperm oil.¹⁸

All of this well illustrates Edmund Burke's tribute to American energy: 'No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not a witness to their toils.'

Although the British Crown's appointment of Busby as Resident under the control of the Governor General of New South Wales was a most tenuous exercise of sovereignty, it seems to have been enough to encourage the United States Government to establish a consulate at the Bay of Islands to protect American whaling and commercial interests. The presence of hundreds of Yankee whalers and an increasing number of trading vessels, for Salem in a sense followed New Bedford, made the need for a consular representative a genuine one.

There was at least one American, an ex-whaling captain named Mayhew, from Warren, Rhode Island, living at the Bay of Islands. 'He bought Rouperaha's Island near Kapiti and had a store there for the supplying of whaling stations and had a clerk to manage it,' reported Edward Jerningham Wakefield, one of the leading colonizers for the New Zealand Land Company. The Kapiti establishment was on the southern end of the North Island, on the West coast not far from Port Nicholson, the present city of Wellington. With two establishments Mayhew seems to

¹⁶ Wilkes, V. 484-485.

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have been a man of considerable substance; but, strangely, the appointment as Consul did not go to him but to a British subject, James Reddy Clendon, who had a considerable trading establishment for whalers at Okiato in the Bay of Islands at a site which was for a time considered as the possible capital of the new colony.¹⁷

Clendon was apparently well thought of by American ship captains who traded with him at the Bay of Islands for on 24 September 1839 F. C. Sanford, master of *Nantucket*, of Nantucket, in a letter to John Forsyth. Secretary of State, offering to deliver to the consulate flags, seals and documents, stated: 'I found when there that the native government was exceeding loose and far below any of the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Mr. Clendon is a fine man and will do the duties of his office to the full satisfaction of the department.' ¹⁸ Clendon received a recess appointment from President Van Buren as Consul to the Bay of Islands on 9 October 1838 and served from 27 May 1839 until 31 December 1842. The dispatches from the Secretary of State to Clendon have not been found, and probably never will be, but his reports to the Secretary of State indicate well the scope of his functions and throw considerable light upon the activities of Americans in New Zealand.

Clendon's first semi-annual report. 30 July 1839, indicates that in the previous six months thirty-seven American ships with cargoes valued at \$1,113,000 came into the Bay of Islands, mostly from Nantucket, New Bedford, and Warren, Rhode Island. Clendon added: 'I have much pleasure in stating that the native chiefs have expressed their willingness to render me every assistance I may require, and have, when applied to, apprehended all deserters.' Native chiefs were willing, for a price, to produce deserting seamen on short notice. The *Journal* of Robert Coffin of *Logan* from Poughkeepsie, New York, is interesting at this point.

While ashore I had a chance to see the redoubtable Maories (Mowries) that held the British redcoats cheap but learned to respect the Blue Jackets. We had an unruly Pokeepsie fireman in our crew by the name of Jack Skelly whom Sheriff Mory used to have locked in jail half the time for his misdeeds. As soon as we reached a public house, Jack proceeded to fill up with liquor until there was nothing else inside him except Devil. Then he exerted his drunken ingenuity to insult and provoke an armed Maorie. I expected to see the Maorie strike him with his battle axe, but he did not. Finally he directed his attentions to Prince Little, a boatsteerer and the largest man in our crew, a Rhode Islander and a typical Yankee. Prince stood it a long time, then he seized Jack and hustled him around the big public room, bumping him against chairs, tables, and benches three or four circuits until Jack was completely

¹⁷ E. J. Wakefield, Adventures in New Zealand (London: John Murray, 18(5) 1, 230.

¹⁸ Consular Reports, Bay of Islands (U. S. Archives).

exhausted, when he threw him on his back, choked him until Jack was black in the face and when he got a chance cried, 'Enough.' For the rest of the time in Monganui, Jack didn't trouble anybody. He was completely subdued.

Several of the boys tried to run away, but the Maories caught them, tied their feet and hands together, slung them on poles, and brought them back after a reward was offered. While the larboard watch was ashore our watch brought off some red boxes that I stowed in the run under the captain's cabin. I knew the style of boxes, and the packing of buckwheat chaff convinced me they were cases of gin. The captain had traded some cases of American plug tobacco for it. I suspect that was the cause of his subsequent undoing, for he and the mate were drunk every day after we left New Zealand. No doubt though but that the imperfect chart had something to do with it.¹⁹

In a narrative of the voyage of the ship *Emerald*, of Salem 1833-1836, Captain John H. Eagleston wrote:

While here, one of my men sometime in the night took french liberty to join hands with the natives. Morning finding him among the missing. I was soon in his wake, and bound to head him off, arriving at the Pa. I stated the case, and my wants to Pomare, whose authority was very quickly shown and the man shortly after placed in my hands, for which I presented him a fine musket and with it he was greatly pleased. My runaway was taken from a house where he had been stored by a female charmer, and supposed he was safely nested, until he heard the order from Pomare that he was wanted. . . . ²⁰

A special report from Clendon, Secretary of State, dated 26 October 1839, shows that a consul's lot, like that of the Gilbertian policeman, was not a merry one.

Statement of the circumstances connected with the destruction of a house belonging to a British Subject at Kororarika in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand by a party of armed Americans on the 15th of August 1839.

In consequence of a house belonging to a British subject residing at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, having been attacked and pulled down by a party of armed Americans, the British Resident and the American Consul proceeded to the spot, and having investigated the circumstances connected with the proceedings have agreed upon the following statement to be transmitted to their respective Governments:

It appears that the American ship, *Hannibal*, of Sag Harbour commanded by Lewis L. Bennett came to an anchor in the Bay of Islands on the 6th of the present month of August 1839, that during the following night John Corney and George Jackson, two of the crew who were both shipped at Rio de Janeiro as foreigners, absconded carrying with them all their clothes and property. And that an American youth

20 Salem. Essex Institute. MS. J. H. Eagleston, Master, Narrative of the Voyage of the ship Emerald of Salem 1833-1836.

¹⁹ H. W. Thompson, editor, The Last of the 'Logan,' the True Adventures of Robert Coffin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1941), pp. 56-58.

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named Benjamin Savage who was under special charge of Captain Bennett, disappeared at the same time, having been in the same watch on deck with one of these men above named—But that part of his clothes were found in his chest, and his cap, one shoe, and comforter on the deck, the cap much crumpled—That as there were no grounds for supposing that the said Benjamin Savage had any wish to leave the vessel it was feared that he had been unfairly dealt with by the said John Corney and George Jackson and that considerable anxiety was felt for his safety—That on the morning of Thursday the 15th instant Captain Bennett having seen George Jackson at the house of . . . Chalk a grogseller at Kororarika required him to proceed with him on board ship when George Jackson entered the House and ascended to the loft by means of a ladder;—that Captain Bennett followed him to the foot of the ladder where he was stopped by some men who were standing about the house, and who told him, with much obscene language, that he should not have the man—That he thence proceeded to the other American ships in the Harbour and requested assistance from their respective commanders to recover his men by force—that he returned to Chalks with two boats and twelve men belonging to his own ship, and accompanied by William Sloan, Master of the Ship, William Hamilton, of New Bedford and John Tucker, Master of the Ship, Richmond, of the same place with five boats and officers and men from their own ships and from other ships in the harbour—that the officers of the ships were armed with pistols and cutlasses, and the men with guns, that they unfurled the United States flag in front of the House, and after Captain Bennett had demanded that the deserters and a bag of clothes which he had identified as belonging to the said deserter, should be given up and having been answered that they were not there, and before he got the man and bag he said were his, blood should be spilt, And after waiting a few minutes he gave order to pull down the house-When the men proceeded to pull off all the weather boards from two to three feet upwards from the ground, so that they could see through the house, when the bag above alluded to, was found containing the deserters clothes and some clothes stolen from the crew. That at this state of the proceedings the Reverend Henry Williams one of the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society suggested to one of the Captains, that as they had now shown what they could do, it might be well to stop—that orders to that effect were immediately given, and the men desisted—But at this time Chalk the occupier of the house who had been in a state of insensibility from intoxication on Captain Bennett's first visit to the House, appeared and attacked the party with the most abusive language; when orders were given, and the work of demolition recommenced—But on the Reverend Mr. Williams again interfering and representing that Chalk was only the tenant of the House which was the property of another man, they again stopped -But renewed the attack for the third time, on its being found that a part of Benjamin Savage's clothes were in the bag which had been discovered in the House, and did not desist until they had thrown down the front wall and ends of the House; the roof being only supported by some of the Gable posts. The owner of the house has estimated the damage sustained by him at Fifty pounds—Two casks of spirits belonging to the tenant were also staved, and the liquor spilled out, and it is also alleged that some property, including the clothes of one of the lodgers, was carried away by some of the seamen.

The respectable inhabitants addressed a letter to Mr. Bennett thanking him for his

praiseworthy conduct in destroying one of the greatest sinks of iniquity in the place. 21

To the missionaries the presence of whalers ashore was a source of constant embarrassment. 'Single men in barracks don't grow into plaster saints,' as Kipling wrote. Neither was Jack ashore after long months of hard labor in masculine company likely to be in any other mood than to 'take his fun where he found it.' The principal diversions were liquor and women and both were in abundant supply at the Bay of Islands.

Arthur S. Thomson, M.C., Surgeon-Major 58th Regiment, on duty in New Zealand, wrote that: 'In 1838 it [the Bay of Islands] was the most frequented resort for whalers in all the South Sea Islands; and its European population, although fluctuating, was then estimated at a thousand souls. It had a church, five hotels, numberless grog-shops, a theatre, several billiard tables, skittle alleys, finishes, and hells. For six successive years a hundred whale ships anchored in the bay, and land facing the beach sold at three pounds a foot. Thirty-six large whale ships were anchored at Kororarika at one time in 1836; and in 1838 fifty-six American vessels entered the bay.²²

In Zebulon, or *The Moral Claims of Seamen Stated and Enforced*, The Reverend John Harris,²³ of Epsom, England, declared:

The greatest obstacles to the success of many of our missionary efforts abroade, have hitherto arisen from the depraved and atrocious conduct of British and American Seamen. At the last anniversary of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, the Rev. Mr. Williams, a missionary from the South Sea Islands, declared the dreadful effects produced on the minds and manners of the natives by the profligacy and cruelty of seamen, and deplored the visits of many of them as a course of demoralization to the heathen part of the population, and of fear to those who are converted.

Evidence to the same effect might be furnished in abundance from the records of our various missionary societies. In the church Missionary Register, a letter from Captain W. Jacob, of the East India Company's service, refers to a battle fought between some native tribes in the 'Bay of Islands,' in Feb. 1830, 'which arose out of a dispute between two of the wretched objects who had been welcomed on board the ——by her commander. These transactions owe their origin entirely to that improper intercourse which it is lamentable to find is too generally allowed between the most degraded portion of the native population and the shipping, to the scandal of our country in that part of the world. There is much to discourage missionary efforts in the scenes of immorality and vice which are constantly exhibited, through the intercourse subsisting between the islands and the shipping, and the dissolute habits of many of the inhabitants which that intercourse has engendered. While we were solemnizing Divine service at Kororarika, we were much concerned to find that,

²¹ Consular Reports, Bay of Islands (U. S. Archives).

²² A. S. Thomson, Story of New Zealand.

²³ Harris (First American Edition, Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln), pp. 67-68.

within hearing and within sight of our congregation, two boats full of Europeans from the whalers in the bay, were rioting in a state of brutal intoxication, to the disgrace of their country. These are among the numerous hindrances which at present exist to any extensive reception of Christianity among the people.'

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John B. Williams of Salem, our second Consul to the Bay of Islands, notes in his *Journal* the profligate actions of the white population:

European diseases have been introduced and the natives are easy victims. They have begun to depopulate and degenerate very fast. From 1818 to 1839 it is estimated that more than one half of some tribes have died of disease, and many of a most deplorable disease brought by the English. (Blankets have caused colds, consumption and asthma. On cold nights they lay rolled in blankets, feet to the fire perspiring freely. They then arise and run into the cold night air. Women as well as men run naked as they were born trembling with cold. It is quite enough to kill a horse.)

The village of Wahapu needs the influence of some good man. The inhabitants are lacking in moral principle in their desire for rapid fortune. They have a score of gaming houses but they have houses yet darker, reflecting a dark shade over humanity—darker than Hell. Houses of ignominy and ill fame. Mauri girls bent on escaping hither and thither. Merciful Heavens! When a ship arrives her decks are almost instantly lined with native women—a floating castle of prostitution. How can it be different when the Master and Officers set the example. And all to entice custom to the shore when the ships recruit. Mischief and misery have been reduced to a system. I am well aware that I make a majority of the inhabitants of the Bay of Islands despicable and perhaps had an utter abhorrence of them because of their Satanic ways.—The polygamy of the Turk is conducted with decorum unknown to the European Bay of Islander.

Drunkenness is also the curse of the Bay of Islands and this is largely European drunkenness. Even on temperance whaling ships, once ashore the men entered into drunkenness. When drunk sailors break the ships' articles and the vessel is forced to remain until the crew is replenished. The pugnacity of these drunks is terrific.

Inmates of the abysmal depth of purgatory where they are not only pregnacious [sie] deal out blows with sticks, clubs, deadly weapons, gouging out each others eyes, literally tearing the flesh to pieces, perniciously and wilfully shouting, 'I am a man! I am an Englishman. I'll tear your bloody guts out. I'll drink your heart's blood.' 24

Williams then quotes a letter from the Sailors Magazine, written aboard U. S. S. Vincennes, by one John Dyer, 28 November 1840.

In New Zealand in the Bay of Islands intemperance was raging in all its fury principally confined to foreigners who were located at Kororarika. This village is situated directly opposite the missionary station [Pahia] and these foreigners, let loose with all the vice of their own country, and in one where there is no restraint, and with the means to gratify themselves to any extent their vicious propensities may desire have been the means of immense evil to the natives.

²⁴ J. B. Williams, Journal (Peabody Museum of Salem).

This Bay within a few years has become the rendezvous of whale ships. I saw fifty or sixty sailors when I was there on shore from the whalers then in port indulging in all manner of dissipation. The ships filled with native women danced all day Sunday. The American ships are just as bad as the English and French, and in many cases outshift them in some of their vices afloat in the harbor.

Williams stated that the author of the letter saw it for a few days; he sees it for weeks and months on end.

John B. Knights, master of the brig Spy, of Salem, wrote in his Journal on 25 March 1833 a vivid account of the licentiousness at Kororarika, the 'Hell of the Pacific.'—'No trouble occurred while I was there that the resident whites and drunken sailors were not the cause of.' Of two sailors from a Nantucket ship badly injured in a brawl with the Maoris, he noted: 'The natives would have been perfectly justified in my opinion had they killed the pair of scoundrels.'

Despite an embarrassing wealth of horrible examples of Christian upbringing the missionaries labored on with church, school, and farm, encouraged occasionally no doubt by visits from the godly, sober, and righteous element among the seamen. Captain Benjamin Morrell visited the Bay of Islands in January 1830 to purchase fresh food and was fulsome in

his praise of the work of the missionary brethren.

This place was once inhabited by wild and ferocious cannibals; but through the philanthropic labours of missionaries, the natives here and in the vicinity have become civilized, friendly, hospitable, and anxious to do good to others. Indolence and filthiness have given place to industry and personal cleanliness; ferocity, to gentleness; ignorance to intelligence; idolatry, to the pure and undefiled religion of the Gospel. Go on, ye messengers of Divine Mercy; pursue the good work, until all the isles of the ocean shall rejoice; 'until the knowledge of Jehovah covers the earth as the waters cover the sea.' Soon may these labours of love be extended to the south island of New Zealand, where the peoples now sit in intellectual darkness, and in the shadow of moral death. Heaven will continue to bless your exertions, and to reward those who contribute to the promotion of so good, so great a cause. Mankind will bless you; but above all, they will doubly bless you 'who go down to the sea in ships, and do business in great waters'; they who 'see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep'; for every missionary is emphatically the mariner's friend.

In the course of the forenoon, the deck of the republican schooner *Antarctic* was honoured by the footsteps of royalty! The *areekee* and his august consort—i.e., the king and queen of the northern district of *Eaheino-mawe*, paid us a friendly and familiar visit. His majesty, old Kippy-kippy, as soon as he came on board, begged to know in what he could serve me, at the same time intimating that he and his people owed an immense debt of gratitude to the whites, for the civil, moral, intellectual, and spiritual blessings they had received from them through the instrumentality of the English missionaries.

Two days later on Saturday, 23 January:

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On Saturday, the 23rd, agreeably to previous arrangements, I attended Mrs. Morrell to the missionary establishment, which she was very anxious to visit. We were accompanied by three of the English captains before mentioned, King, M'Auly, and Gray; and were met on the beach by the Rev. Mr. Williams, who appeared to be very much rejoiced to see us. After a mutual interchange of the customary courtesies, he conducted us to his house, and introduced us to his amiable family—a lovely wife, and two very interesting daughters; just fitted to receive and impart pleasure, in the rational sphere of moderate fashionable life. I contemplated these females with peculiar interest, and could not conceal my admiration of that disinterested devotedness which could induce them to leave their country, with so many endearing relationships, and become immured for life in a solitary spot, on the opposite side of the globe, surrounded by barbarous savages. and exposed to a thousand privations. 'Twas the divinity which stirred within them.

In this missionary establishment, which lies about five miles from the Antarctic's anchorage, on the west side of the bay, the most admirable and perfect system of order prevails which I have ever witnessed; and this is all owing to a proper and judicious apportionment of time. They rise, every morning, at daybreak, when the labouring natives assemble, and the day is opened with prayer. After despatching a hasty but wholesome breakfast, they repair to the field, each missionary dressed in his coarse frock and trousers, carrying in his hand a hoe or spade, or some other agricultural implement. Here they labour all the forenoon, with as much industry and perseverence as any of our New England farmers, until the hour of midday, when they all partake of an excellent dinner, preceded by prayers, and followed by a brief return of thanks. After this, they again repair to the field, and continue to work until four o'clock, when the labours of the day are finished, the two following hours being appropriated to amusements and recreation. They assemble at six o'clock, and partake of a light supper, after which the natives receive lessons in reading, writing, and arithmetic; or hear a religious lecture. At nine P.M., their day is closed with prayer, when a sweet night's rest recruits their health and spirits, and fits them for the exercises of the following day.

While the missionaries are thus occupied with the male natives, their wives and daughters are equally busy with the females, teaching them to read and write, and also the art of needlework. Thus these good people devote their whole time in labouring to promote the temporal as well as the eternal welfare of the native of New Zealand. Several handsome specimens of their writing were shown us, together with some pieces of original composition that evinced no ordinary degree of genius and talent. I heard some of them read, also, with great accuracy, both in English and in their own tongue, which the missionaries have so reduced to a grammatical system, that it has become a written and printed language. Mrs. Morrell examined several specimens of needlework executed by the female natives, which she pronounced to be equal to any thing of the kind she had ever seen.

A very pretty village encircles the mission, the buildings of which are mostly framed and built like the houses in our country villages. The better sort, however, are built of stone, and handsomely painted. All of them are whitewashed, and have beautiful gravel walks in front, with neatly cultured gardens in the rear. Some of the natives

have become ingenious mechanics as well as experienced and skillful farmers. Thus those plains, which but a few years ago were the scenes of bloodshed and human sacrifices, have been converted into cultivated plantations and fields for innocent amusement; where the horrid rites of pagan superstition were once performed are now erected altars consecrated to the one true and only living God.

After spending a few hours at this delightful establishment, which my wife reckons among the pleasantest of her whole life, we took an affectionate leave of our excellent friends, and proceeded to the beach, attended by several of the Christian natives, who parted from us with great reluctance. On shoving off, they exclaimed, as with one voice, 'Farewell! good Americans! Gentlemen and lady, God bless you!' and with their muscular arms caused our little boat to skim like a swallow over the waters of the bay, whose bosom seemed as placid as our own. Not a soul left the beach till they saw us in safely on the *Antarctic's* deck.²⁵

Captain Knight's impressions were widely different from Captain Morrell's:

In my honest opinion if the English Missionaries at the Bay of Islands would set more of an example of humility and self-denial in their manner of living and their intercourse with the natives, it would tend much more towards civilizing the inhabitants than their pompous prayers, their formal lessons and fanciful stories about the horrors and torments of a future state.

The large land holdings of the missionaries are but a step to obtaining temporal power over the natives. Meanwhile supported by charity at home they are prospering abroad and have 'the means of living in princely luxury and comparative idleness.' It is also much to be feared that the tenets of the Christian religion are inculcated in a not-too-inviting form: 'The gloomy and soul-withering doctrines of Calvin would if believed shed a blight and mildew over the light, joyous and happy children of Nature and render it a mandate of awful power rather than the benevolent and consoling message of pardoning mercy which its founder was commissioned to reveal to sinful and erring man.'

Darwin thought that although many of the missionary efforts were badly directed the missionaries themselves were really high type men of high moral purpose.

This little village is the very stronghold of vice; although many tribes, in other parts, have embraced Christianity, here the greater part yet remain in Heathenism. In such places the Missionaries are held in little esteem; but they complain far more of the conduct of their countrymen than of the natives. It is strange, but I heard these worthy men say that the only protection which they need and on which they rely is from the native chiefs against Englishmen.²⁶

The obviously chaotic conditions in New Zealand could not continue indefinitely and the Colonial Office took the first positive step when on 13

²⁵ B. Morrell, Narrative of Four Vovages (New York: Harper, 1832), p. 370 et seq.

²⁶ Darwin, op. cit., p. 364.

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August 1839 it appointed Captain William Hobson, R.N., as Lt. Governor 'of any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty' in New Zealand. Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands on 29 January 1840 and on the following day read the Royal Proclamation extending the boundaries of New South Wales to include New Zealand. The following week the negotiations with the native tribes which were to result in the Treaty of Waitangi got under way.

None of this boded any good for American interests, for excise and port duties were at once instituted. Hitherto American seamen could land their goods for sale and whale oil could be transshipped at little or no cost. Wilkes, whose squadron arrived shortly after Hobson, took a dim view of all this.

It has, among other things, been enacted, that all goods imported and remaining on hand on the 1st. of January 1840, the time of British assumption, shall pay duties; that all lands are to be considered as belonging to the Queen, even those purchased of the chiefs prior to the treaty, while the purchasers shall be only entitled to as many acres as the amount paid to the chiefs will cover at the rate of five shillings per acre. The government in addition reserves to itself the right to such portions as it may require. Many of these purchases were made from the native chiefs, prior to the treaty, in good faith, and for an equivalent with which they were well satisfied, and so expressed themselves.

The destructive effect of these laws on American commerce will be great, particularly as those engaged in mercantile pursuits find themselves called upon to pay heavy duties on their stocks. Americans are not permitted to hold property, and, in consequence, their whaling establishments on shore must either be broken up altogether, or transferred to other places, at a great loss of outlay and capital. Our whalers are now prevented from resorting to the New Zealand ports, or fishing on the coast, by the tonnage duty, port charges, &c; are denied the privilege of disposing of any thing in barter, and obliged to pay a duty on American articles of from ten to five hundred per cent. The expenses of repairs have so much increased, that other places must be sought for the purpose of making them. The timber and timber-lands are exclusively claimed as belonging to Her Majesty. Thus have our citizens been deprived of a fishery yielding about three hundred thousand dollars annually in oil.

At the time of my visit, which was, as has been seen, immediately after Captain Hobson's arrival, and the signing of the treaty, or cession, it was evident that full seven-eights of the native population had the same feelings as are found expressed in this note. The circumstances that have occurred at New Zealand fully prove the necessity of having American citizens as our consuls abroad. Mr. J. R. Clendon, our consul at New Zealand, an independent state, and the only representative of a foreign power, whose interest was at stake, was consulted by some of the most powerful and influential chiefs, who had refused to sign the treaty or cession to Great Britain. They came to Mr. Clendon for advice, how they should act, and he admitted that he had advised them to sign, telling them it would be for their good.

He himself signed the treaty as a witness, and did all he could to carry it into effect; but, in doing this, he said, he had acted as a private citizen, by request of the Governor, thus separating his public duties from his private acts. At the same time he buys large tracts of land, for a few trifles, and expects to have his titles confirmed as Consul of the United States.²⁷

Perhaps Clendon was forced to coöperate in order to insure the successful completion of his plan to sell his own property, the site of the U. S. Consulate, as the future capital of the infant colony of New Zealand. Although the land was so hilly as to be unsuitable for a capital city, nevertheless Captain Hobson and his wife took up residence at Okiato, renamed Russell in honor of the English foreign minister Lord John Russell. When Mrs. Hobson's cow fell and broke its neck the site, nicknamed 'Hobson's Folly,' was seen to be impracticable and the capital was soon relocated at Auckland.

The prospect of the provincial capital being established at the Bay of Islands had set up a tremendous land speculation, which collapsed in a few months when Hobson's Folly was abandoned in favor of the present day city of Auckland on the Waitemata River, farther to the south. The decline of the land boom, and the diminishing number of whaling ships which refitted there meant that Kororarika, 'Black Guard Beach' as Wilkes termed it, ceased to be the busy and violent settlement of the early years. Honolulu and other Sandwich Island ports gained the trade the Bay of Islands lost when port and excise fees were instituted under Hobson.

The natives, too, missed the ready money which whaling ship commerce had brought to the area. They yearned for the good old lawless days before the British flag flew over the land. This paper will not treat of the native revolt which resulted in the burning of Kororarika, a calamity from which the town never completely recovered. That incident, however, may not be devoid of interest to Rhode Islanders, for allegedly implicated in stirring up the natives to revolt against the British Raj were two natives of Warren, Rhode Island, Captain William Mayhew and one Henry Green Smith, of whom more hereafter.

27 Wilkes, op. cit., I, 164.

Lieutenant Colonel Robert W. Kenny, U. S. A., is stationed in Washington, D. C. He is on leave of absence from Brown University where he is Professor of the Department of English and Dean of the College. He has been interested in nineteenth-century American activities in the Pacific for many years.

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BY RICHARD LeBARON BOWEN, 7R.1

River Craft of the Lower Nile

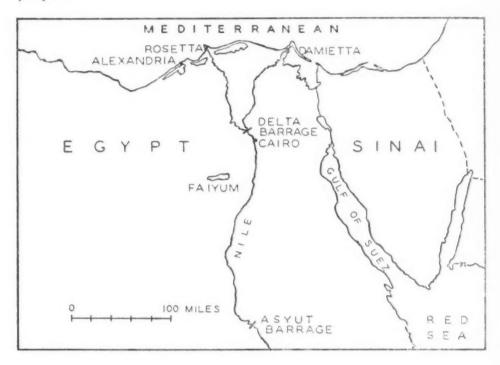
ALTHOUGH Cairo has long been the crossroads of the Middle East, apparently no one has taken the time to record the Nile river craft around Cairo. Hornell described the craft along various parts of the Nile in minute detail, but he never considered the craft of the lower Nile north of Aswan. The majority of the sailing and river craft found on the Nile River between the Delta Barrage and the Asyut Barrage may be divided into two classes: those whose hulls are made of wood, and those whose hulls are made of steel.

Both kinds of hulls have characteristic shapes. The wooden-hull boat is known as *qayasah* (local Cairene is sometimes *ayasah*). The hull is coffin-shaped with a blunt, almost flat bow that rises to a point (Plate 00); the hull tapers toward the stern (Fig. 1). The boat is flat-bottomed and the sides pitch out slightly; it has a transom stern. Fore and aft there are short decks, but the waist is left open. These hulls are built of thin planking nailed on sturdy ribs, very similar to the way Arab dhows are constructed in the Red Sea, Arabian Sea, and Persian Gulf (Plate 00—lower left). There is a sheathing of planks placed over the ribs on the inside of the waist to form the hold.

The height of the bow of these boats varies greatly, but in all instances the side and the bottom planking are brought forward in the same general manner. Only a few qayasahs have low bows. The bottom planks terminate at a chine line, while the side planking runs past the ends of the bottom planking and is fastened to the stem (Fig. 2). In actual practice the bottom is planked last. Only by doing this can one make the bow come out the desired height, for the bottom planks must fit into the triangular space left for them (Plate oo—lower left), and it must be remembered that these Egyptian boatbuilders, like their Arab counterparts, work without plans or sketches.

¹ The writer is indebted to the American Foundation for the Study of Man under whose guidance this work was done in 1950 in Egypt. The writer wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Wendell Phillips, president of the Foundation, and to Prof. W. F. Albright for valuable assistance in the study.

Some Egyptians claimed that the high-pointed flat bow was to keep the water out, while others admitted that it was simply a design. Certainly it cannot be functional; so exaggerated is its height, it almost reminds one of a pointed Turkish slipper. Actually the high bow does serve a useful purpose in some instances as we shall see later, as part of the tackle for lowering the mast, but the high bow could not have evolved for this purpose.



The second broad classification of river craft on the Nile near Cairo is a steel boat known as the *sandal*. This is a flat-bottomed transom stern boat with a bow like a cutter (Plate oo—upper left). The boat is usually flat-bottomed with sides that are flared out slightly (Fig. 3); occasionally the sides are absolutely vertical. While these are essentially steel barges in a strict sense, they must be classed as river craft inasmuch as they are usually sailed under their own power and are rarely towed by power boats. Most of these boats have narrow steel decks on each side connecting the steel fore and aft decks in true barge fashion.

While most of these hulls are made of steel plate with riveted seams, today a few are welded. It is not an unusual sight to see the bright blue

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flash of an oxygen cutting torch or welding torch shining from some sandal yard on the endless canals along the Nile. A few angle-iron frames are riveted to the bottom and then the sides are fastened to these. I saw a very interesting feature on one of these steel sandals at Shubra in North Cairo one day. The 'chief engineer' of one of the steel boatyards showed me a 40-foot sandal that was being constructed especially for sailing. He had put a short dip in the keel line on the forward two feet of the keel; this was supposed to increase the 'sailing stability.' However, the change was so slight that it is doubtful whether it had any effect. If larger and farther aft, it would have a stabilizing effect.

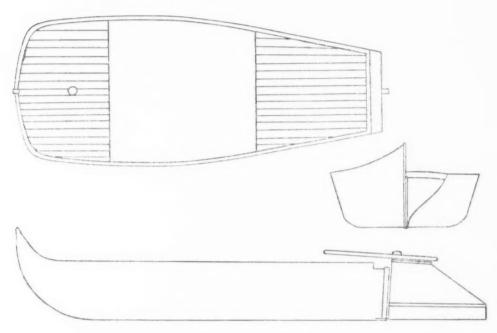


Fig. 1. The *qayasah* hull is coffin-shaped. The rudder is huge and is controlled by an equally massive tiller

The rudders on both the *qayasah* and the *sandal* are the same shape (Fig. 1). The proportions of these rudders are immense and they are controlled by an equally massive tiller. Strangely, the same shaped rudder is used on most of the river craft along the whole Nile, although the hull design or sail may often be very different.

From a comparison with Arab dhows, all of which have different names for distinctive designs, it is not surprising to find unique hull designs on the Nile possessing different names. There were a few other designs of large hulls besides the *sandal* and the *qayasah* in the vicinity of Cairo, but it turns out that these are boats from north of the Delta Barrage, a large dam sixteen miles north of Cairo just before a branch in the Nile. While all these have individual names known to those who operated them, few of the river-men around Cairo know these names, although they usually recognize that they are from the northern Nile.

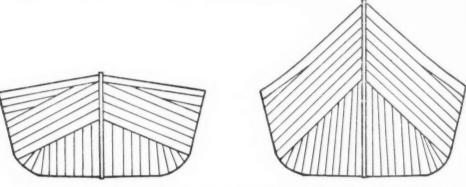


Fig. 2. Qayasah side planks are brought over the bottom planks, which end at a chine line

One of the northern boats known to the Cairenes is the *lotus*, which is made at Rashid (Rosetta). This is a double-ended craft that looks like a Persian Gulf Arab *bum* with a short stem (Plate oo—lower right). Another northern boat is the *kik*, which is made at Domyat (Damietta); this is best described as a wooden *sandal*. The name of this boat is not well

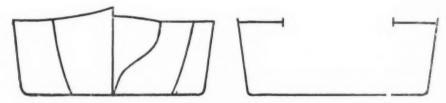
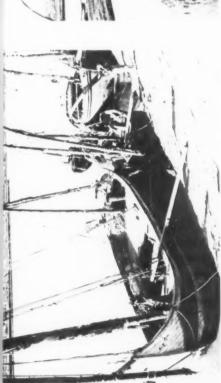


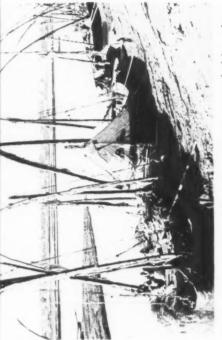
Fig. 3. The sandal is a flat-bottomed steel boat, with sides flared out slightly

known around Cairo, and many of the river-men say it is a *qayasah* with a *sandal* bow, while others say it is a wooden *sandal*. Thus the river-men know few boats other than their own local boats by their correct names. It is interesting to note that each district builds only a certain hull design and rarely deviates from an established pattern.

a bridge. Note the huge rudder



I wo-masted gayasah in foreground showing pointed bow. A sandal is shown on the right

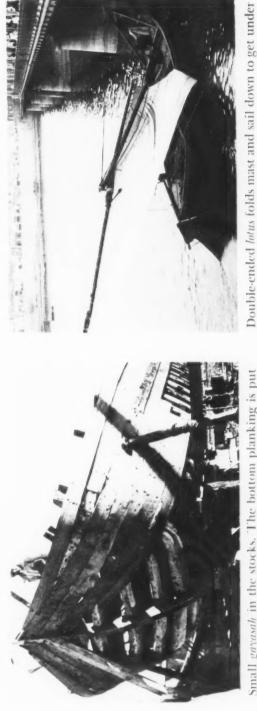


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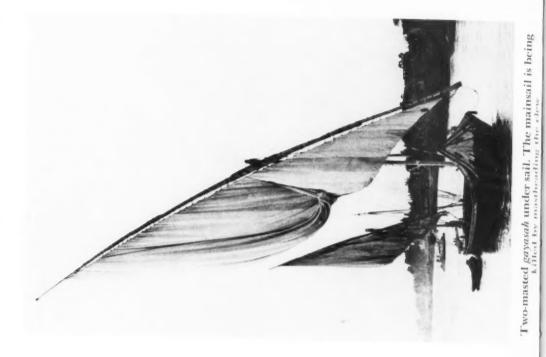
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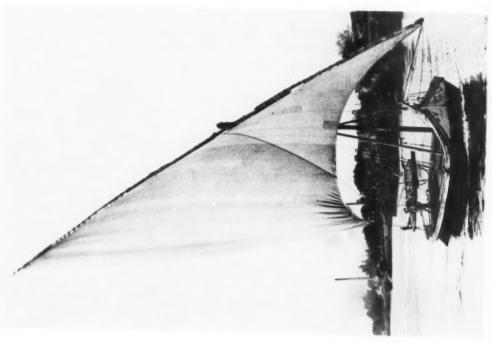
High pointed gayasah bow in center surrounded by other gayasahs. The yards with sails furled are always left aloft



Small gayasah in the stocks. The bottom planking is put on last and must fit in the triangular space







Single-masted gayasah. Note tack tackle and bowsprit which often aids in folding the mast down

RIVER CRAFT OF THE LOWER NILE

49

There are a few other names by which boats are known around Cairo, but these apply to small boats and are names that usually indicate function rather than design. The first of these words is *felukah*. This is probably one of the most misused nautical words in Egypt today. Most English postcards showing a group of *qayasahs* under sail call them '*felukahs*.' Actually the confusion is increased by the fact that certain Spanish lateenrigged craft sailing the Mediterranean in the last century were known as *feluccas*. In Cairo *felukah* technically refers to a small lateen-rigged sailboat. The hull can be *qayasah* or some other form.

Other purely functional names for boats are *qatrah* (also, *atrah*) and *qattirah* (also, *attirah*) which can best be translated as 'lifeboat' or 'tender.' This is rather disappointing, for in most instances the small boats are of identically the same patterns as the steel *sandal* or the wooden *qayasah* to which they belong, even as to the material of construction; however, they were both called *qatrah*. Actually these boats were used more as tenders for communication with shore than lifeboats, and they were always towed

behind the larger boat and not stowed aboard.

The last word with a functional meaning is *qarib*, which may be translated as 'rowboat.' This word applies to a small boat used for some purpose other than a lifeboat or tender—especially rowing. It is also used occasionally to refer to small sailboats instead of *felukah*; these sailboats are always smaller than those called *felukahs*. Thus while the larger craft have individual names depending upon the hull design, the smaller boats are known by the purpose for which they are used, i.e., sailboat, lifeboat, tender, rowboat.

The sails on all river craft of the lower Nile north of Asyut are lateen, and their standing rigging is usually steel. It was while watching a *lotus* sailing slowly downwind against the sluggish Nile current at Cairo that I received one of the great surprises of my life. The boat sailed right towards a bridge and was ready to hit it when the whole mast and sail folded backwards just enough to allow it to pass under the bridge (Plate oolower right). The boat coasted under the bridge on its momentum; as soon as the tip of the yard was clear of the bridge, the boatmen hoisted the mast up again with a winch at the bow. A lot of the sailing craft around Cairo have similar arrangements, but many do not have this refinement. A boat which does not have such an arrangement must wait for the bridge to open. On boats with folding masts, the mast rakes aft and the yard and sail are raised on the after side of the mast, even when sailing downwind. These boats are usually single-masted. The high point of the *qayasah* bow is often used to fasten this lifting tackle.

The larger two-masted sailing craft usually do not have folding masts, because of the inherent difficulties of folding two sets of masts, yards, sails, and rigging. The mainsails on these two-masted craft, as well as on the single-masted boats, are usually very tall and narrow, although occasionally they are short. These sails are true lateens in that they are perfectly triangular (Plate 00). The mizzen is usually triangular, but is sometimes quadrilateral; this quadrilateral sail is identical to the quadrilateral sails used by the Arabs in the Persian Gulf on their dhows, but it has a boom along the foot. These quadrilateral sails (properly settee sails) are known

as shaglewah by the Egyptians.

When two-masted craft approach a bridge they douse their sails, but they do not let either yard down. Both sails are killed by simply hoisting the clew of the sail up to the yard with a fall from the masthead. Just before the boat comes to the spot where it will have to stop, the clew of first the mizzen and then the mainsail are mastheaded. At the same time, a man high on the yard often gathers in the mainsail which he ties in loose stops as he comes down. He is usually above the mast about halfway up the yard, and often gathers the sail in with both hands and both feet while sitting on a sail roband between the sail and the mast. Sometimes with a large sail, two men, one considerably above the other, accomplish this task; the top man is often one hundred feet up. When the bridge is opened, the sail is freed from the loose stops by vanking the sheet. These Nile river craft around Cairo gather before closed bridges, wait for them to open, and rush on to the next bridge like flocks of swans. While there are not too many bridges across the Nile, the canals are crossed by multitudinous bridges. Much of the local transportation around Cairo is dependent upon these sailing craft.

The cataracts on the Nile River have long acted as physical barriers to transportation up and down the Nile. These are usually places where the Nile crosses rocky outcrops and are often composed of hundreds of rocky islands with rapids and even waterfalls. Four of the cataracts (Second to the Fifth) range from fifty to one hundred miles in length with drops varying from thirty-five to over two hundred feet. The First Cataract (actually the last going down the Nile) is at Aswan. The granite that is responsible for this cataract has long been used for building purposes

at Cairo, and the Delta Barrage is built of Aswan granite.

The cataracts are not entirely unnavigable for sailing craft, but there is always considerable risk in the venture. It is easier for a sailing vessel to sail upstream through a cataract than it is to go downstream. Going upstream a boat simply waits for a wind that is strong enough to over-

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come the faster currents found in the cataracts. Going downstream is quite another matter, and it would be pure folly to 'shoot the rapids' under sail: a single rock would be fatal. The Nile boatmen actually back their sailing craft under sail down through the cataracts. The boatman heads his boat upstream and sets sufficient sail to move slowly in the current, but insufficient sail to move upstream relative to the shore; maintaining steerage way the boatman thus backs downstream. The enormous Egyptian rudder is used to great advantage here to swing the boat rapidly.

The cataracts were natural barriers in the time of the Pharaohs, and since time immemorial have been obstacles to the spread of culture up and down the Nile. One of the most remarkable examples of the effect of these cataracts upon the spread of culture is found between the Third and Fifth cataracts, where one finds a boat called the *nuggar*, carrying a broad square sail tilted to form a balance-lug. Many of these boats are frameless and built in ways very similar to those of ancient Egyptian hulls of three to four thousand years ago. Thus this short stretch of the Nile, protected by the cataracts, preserves techniques and styles that originated in remote Egyptian times. However, to the north and to the south of these two cataracts, Moslem influence has penetrated so that all the craft carry lateen sails.

Today between the First Cataract and the Mediterranean there are four great dams. These tend to limit the movement of river craft almost as much as the cataracts, for while there are locks to permit the movement of boats, it is slow. The Delta Barrage, the last of the dams on the Nile before it branches, has been in operation for almost a century and has already had an effect on the boats of the lower Nile, for the *qayasah* and the *sandal* predominate south of the Delta Barrage, while the few intruders around Cairo are found to be from north of the Delta Barrage; the *kik* from the Damietta Nile and the *lotus* from the Rosetta Nile. As time goes on and industrialization increases in Egypt, certain stretches of the Nile between various barrages or cataracts will protect the old from the new. However, river craft will always have their place on the Nile, and it is actually doubtful that steam or oil will offer serious competition to sailing craft in the near future.

Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr., is a chemical engineer who worked for the Arabian American Oil Company in Saudi Arabia from 1945 to 1947. Besides the articles on dhows which have appeared in the Neptune he has written numerous other works on the ethnology, archaeology, and marine biology of Arabia.

Ships that Tested the Blockade of the Gulf Ports, 1861-1865

BY MARCUS W. PRICE

Part II

II. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1862

NAMI OF VISSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from	RE
A. B.	deamer			run aground and burned by Confederates off Neuces	1407	Y ear
				River, 15 Aug.	for	
1. C. Shelton	dools					-
Adventurer	schooner			captured off Pensacola, 1 Oct.	for	
Alba Smith	schooner					01
Alexander [Lion]	schooner	82 12/95	9	captured at sea, 25 Feb.	for	-
Alice [Matagorda]	steamer	616 50/95	24			NO.
. Il Jones	schooner					-
Alphonsine	schooner	72.10/95	00			***
Andreila [J. W. Wilder]	schooner			grounded and abandoned by crew off Fort Morgan		
				(Mobile), 20 Jan.		
Indromeda	schooner			captured off Mariel, Cuba, 26 May	from	
Anita	schooner					
11111	steamer			captured off Fort Morgan (Mobile), 19 June	for	
Ann	dools					95.
Anna Belle	schooner	89.26/95		captured lat. 29 20' N., long. 85, 22' W.		-
Anna Smith	schooner	199 87/95		destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan.		
Anna Sophia	schooner			captured in Gulf, 27 Aug.	for	
Anna Taylor	schooner	60.41/95				54
Annie	sloop	1.1		captured off Mobile, 29 April	from	-
Antonica	schooner			grounded off Fort Morgan (Mobile) and burned by Confederates	for	
Ariel	schooner			captured lat. 24° 33′ N., long, 83° 57′ W., 15 Nov.	for	-
Arizona [Carolina, Caroline]	steamer	578 48/95	01	captured lat. 29° 55' N., long, 87° 35' W., 28 Oct.	for	1
Manta	cloop			captured off west coast of Florida, -		
Atlantic	schooner	20 38/95	wje.			-
Atlantic	steamer	623 43/95	01			90

captured by, 23° 46° N., long, 83° 16° W., 9 June wrecked off Mobile, - December

603 80/95* 103*

steamer schooner schooner

Austin [Donegal] Baigorry Baker

Subcontered shooner schooner shoop scanner gest at the feet tuding scanner scanner gest at the feet tuding scanner gest at the feet gest at the feet gest at the feet tuding scanner gest at the feet gest at t	Ansam (Domegar) Barker Baltic	schooner schooner schooner (pilot boat)	603 No/95*	g 0.	captured lat, 23 ⁷ 46 ⁷ N., long, 83 ⁷ 16 ⁷ W., 9 June wicked off Mobile, — December	trom for
science sloop Sloop Feb.	negard	schooner			captured off coast of Texas,	mon
talia sloop to be [C. Venderbill] stemer 39* captured at San - March to [General Rusk] stemer 30* 5 to Or Day [Wide Awake, schooner 96 o7/95 to Order Awake, schooner 96 o7/95 to Schooner 96 o7/95 to Order Awake, schooner	font	sloop			captured off coast of Texas, but recaptured, both in Feb.	
Control Steamer 383 Steamer 384 Steamer 384 Steamer 384 Steamer 384 Steamer 384 Steamer 384 Steamer 394 Steamer 394 Steamer 394 Steamer 394 Steamer 394 Steamer 395 St	Italia	sloop			captured at Mansas Pass, 10 July	
in a steamer 477 so opposed to be a steamer 477 shows a steamer 50° by [Wide Awake, schooner 96° 7/95 steamer 604 steamer 609 steamer 600	s Joker [C. Vanderbilt]	steamer	8 kg		foundered at sea, — March	101
schooner g6 o7/95 captured off coast of Texas, 12 Aug. of Day [Wide Awake, schooner g6 o7/95 steamer food attack off the Awake, schooner g6 o7/95 captured off New Orleans, 23 Jan. steamer food steamer food attack off New Orleans, 23 Jan. steamer food steamer food attack off New Orleans, 23 Jan. steamer food food attack off New Orleans, 23 Jan. steamer food food attack off New Orleans, 23 Jan. steamer food food attack off New Orleans, 23 Jan. steamer food food attack off New Orleans, 23 Jan. steamer food food food food food food food foo	che [General Kusk]	steamer	117	3	captured and barned on coast of capa, / ce.	
captured off coast of Texas, 12 Aug. O' Day [Wide Awake, schooner g6 07/95 steamer steamer steamer at the following steamer and [Caba] steamer at the following steamer at the following steamer steamer at the following steamer steamer steamer steamer shoop schooner shoop schooner g7 schooner g6 11 (The following steamer steamer at the following steamer steamer at the following schooner g6 11 (The following steamer steamer at the following steamer at the following schooner g6 12 (The following steamer at the followin	ıa mia	schooner	30-	e e		
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Octoba Steamer Steamer Steamer Steamer Ag6 69/95 Captured off New Orleans, 23 Jan.	nma	schooner	96 07/95			
Steamer 604 18 Captured off New Orleans, 23 Jan.	sh Queen	steamer				
steamer 496 69/95 captured N.W. of Manquesas Keys, 27 Dec. na [Arizona] steamer 496 69/95 captured N.W. of Manquesas Keys, 27 Dec. na [Arizona] steamer 496 69/95 captured Chandeleur Island, 2 Apr. schooner shemy schooner 94 41/95 captured and burned San Luis Pass, 5 Apr. captured and burned San Luis Pass, 5 Apr. burned off Texas coast, - Oct. captured lat. 28° 41′ N., long. 84° 45′ W. captured lat. 28° 41′ N., long. 84° 30′ W. 23 Aug. captured lat. 23° 24′ N., long. 84° 30′ W. 23 Aug. captured lat. 23° 27 Dec. captured Chandeleur Island, 2 Apr. captured off Sand Point Island, 3 bout 14 miles from Mobile, 10 Apr. Allower 14 Miles from Allower 14 Miles from Allower 15 Apr. burned off Texas coast, - Oct. captured lat. 28° 14′ N., long. 84° 30′ W. 23 Aug. captured lat. 23° 24′ N., long. 84° 30′ W. 23 Aug. captured lat. 23° 24′ N., long. 84° N., long. captured lat. 23° 24′ N., long.	oun [Cuba]	steamer	604	200	captured off New Orleans, 23 Jan.	lot
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steamer steamer some schooner sloop schooner stage by the schooner schoone	lina [Arizona]	steamer				
schooner sch	line [Arizona]	steamer				
schooner schooner schooner schooner solop schooner solop schooner	line	sloop			sunk off west coast of Florida, - March	
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schooner schooner (aptured 12 miles off Tortugas Light, lat. 24° N., long 88° W., 22 Dec.	[Theresa] lia	schooner	68 41/95	0	captured lat. 28 14 N., long. 93 24 W., 4 Sept. captured lat. 23 24 N., long. 84 30 W., 23 Aug.	for
schooner Sq. v., rong 88° W., 22 Dec.	ier [formerly American					,
	esident]	schooner			captured 12 miles on Lortugas Light, lat. 24 N., 101 88° W., 22 Dec.	for

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	for or from	Successful Runs During Year
Course	schooner			captured trying to enter Sabine Pass, 11 Nov.	for	
Cuba [Calhoun]	steamer	fio.1	90			
Cuba	steamer					٥
Cuba	schooner	* 00		captured of Mobile to Any	· ·	
Curlew	schooner	22		Captured off Cedar Keys 16 Inne	for	a
C. Vanderbilt [Black Joker]	steamer	200		alternation of court being to June		
Cygnet	schooner	0.0				
	(pilot boat)			burned off Apalachicola, 2 Apr.		
Dan	steamer			captured off coast of Texas, - October		
Dart	schooner			captured off Sabine Pass, 6 Oct.	for	
Deer Island	schooner	37 66/95	or	scuttled by crew, Mississippi Sound, 18 May	from	
Diana	schooner			captured between Campeche and Matamoras, 26 Nov. Restored.		
Director	schooner			captured July		
Donegal [Austin]	steamer	609 80/03	01			
Dove [Flying Fish]	dools	11.		captured in vicinity of Tortugas, 90 Dec	for	
Dreadnot	schooner					
Dudley [Pinkney]	cloop			destroyed off Cedar Keys, 10 Jan.		
Eagle	schooner	44 10/95*	1			-
Elizabeth [General Miramon]	steamer	206 1.1/05	01			. 00
Elizabeth	gloops	11.		captured off Sabine Pass, 5, July	for	n -
Eliza M. Fisk	schooner	70 64/05	k!			-
Elma Franklin	schooner	12 1 20				
Emma	schooner			captured off Velasco, 26 Sept.		. 51
Emma	schooner			captured off coast of Florida, 17 Jan.		-
Enterprise	steamer	972 20/05	51			
Esseiance [Essayons]	schooner					. 04
Eugenia	schooner	74 28/95	10	captured off Pass a l'Outre, 16 Mar.	hom	
Eugenia [or Eugenie] Smith	schooner			captured lat. 28° 70' N., long, 98° 00' W., 7 Feb.	for	
Fashion	sloop					-
Florida	steamer	672 81/95	26	captured about 30 miles above St. Andrew's town, Fla.,		
Florida	sloon			0 Apr.		on ,
Florida	down		9	appended to the second of the		-
Florid	schooner		c	captined all 27 N. 10 Mar.	101	
richia di	SCHOOLICE			captured off Apalachicola, 2 Apr.		
Flying Cloud	dools			captured 29 Dec.		
Flying Fish [Dove]	dools	•				
Foam	schooner	432 Hz/95	58	の 1 日本 1 日		
Franklin	schooner					

Franklin	schooner	82 12/95	g			
General Burrows	dools					
General Frank Pierce	schooner					
General Miramon [Elizabeth]	steamer	29b 14/95				
General Rusk [Blanche]	steamer	117				
General Worth	dools	17.				
George W. Orr	sloop	1761/95	67			
Georgia	bark	*611	13			
Gino	schooner	52 90/95	*	And American Direct of Oct		1
G. L. Brockenborough	doop			Captilled Aparachicola Niver, 13 Oct.	mon	_
Governor A. Mouton	steamer		10	Tilli aground and captured in between pays of the		
Grace E. Baker [Gypsy]	schooner	61 53/95		captured on coast of cana, 29 war.		-
Green Bird	sloop					
G. W. [or B. W.] Behn	schooner					
Gypsy [Grace E. Baker]	schooner	64 53/95	-	The state of the s		5
Havana	steamer			Bulled Dead Man S Bay, 3 June		
H. Baker	unascertained			Wrecked 9 Dec.		-
Henrietta	schooner					
Henry F. Colthirst for Col-						
thrist	schooner					
Henry Travers	schooner	75 91/95		captured lat. 28 14 N. 1001g. 91 50 W., 6 Mat.	· ·	
Hermosa	schooner			captured about 15 miles east of samue Kiver, 39 exc.	101	
Hortense	schooner					. 0
Independence	schooner	102	6	Constitution Character on Know	los.	4
Io Sierra [Water Witch]	schooner			Captured Corpus Christi, 27 Schie	101	0
Isabel [W. R. King]	schooner	*94	1	Capulfed Alcharatava bay, 1 1975.	101	0 -
Isabel	schooner	16				
James L. Day	steamer	114 70/95	1	No be tel and manner la to the op at		
Jane [Jose Ton]	schooner	26*	26	captured to miles 5.5.w. or rampa bay, iac. 20 5.1 long, 85° W., 3 May		
I. C. Acton	schooner	130*				- 0
Jeff Davis	dools			The state of the s		1 0
Jefferson Davis [Reindeer]	schooner			captured lat. 27 o5 N. 1008, 93 W. 17 Sept.	from	0 =
Jesse J. Cox	schooner			captured off Mobile, 25 Mar.	шош	
Jessie Richards	schooner	75 33/95	10		409	
J. J. McNeil [or McNeel]	schooner			captured off Corpus Caristi, 25 Jan.	101	
Joe Flanner	schooner					
	(pilot boat)	77.				- 01
John Arthur	schooner	61 33/95	(0)		from	
John Gilpin	schooner	66/89 66	oc.	Captured in Arisasappi Sound,	from	
John Thompson	dool			Captured 2 Sept.	11001	
Josephine	brig			captured our Ship Island, Mississippi, 26 Jun		

captured 29 Dec.

sloop sloop schooner

Flying Cloud
Flying Fish [Dove]
Foam

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	v Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	for or from	Known Successful Runs During
Jose Ton [Jane]	schooner	26*			1018	4001
Julia	sloop	77 01 /05	0			
Julia	dools	00 84/05	1.5			20
Julia	schooner	20/91/02	- G			-
Julia	schooner	66 (a. 6-	9	captured off & W mass of Missississis Discussion		TT.
Julia	schooner		n	destraced off New Orleans of Jan.	rom	
J. W. Mallory	schooner			destroyed on ivew Origans, 21 Jan.	Irom	,
J. W. Townsend	schooner			grounded near Pensacola and burned by crew, during		en.
J. W. Wilder [Andreila, Andri-	-i-			or about April		
etta	schooner	101 59/05				
Kate	schooner	06/06		captured while trying to enter St. Marks River, Fla.,		
Labuan [LaBuan]	steamer			27 Dec. captured while loading at Brownsville, 1 Feb. Re- leased	for	
Lady of the Lake	schooner					-
Lafayette	schooner					C4
Laura Dudley	dools					-
Leader	schooner					-
Lewis Whiteman	steamer			Cantured in Lake Pontchartrain 6 May		- 1
Liberte	dools			e france in take t outcharman, o May		5 0 (
Lilly	schooner	65 14/05	10	cantured lat 98° 52. N long 69° 60' W or Aug	500	00 1
Lion [Alexander]	schooner	82 42/05		September 20 10 to tough 93 ZO W. 31 Aug.	101	-
Lizzie Mezzick	schooner	1-1 27				
Lizzie Weston	schooner	217 52/05		Captured at sea bound for Jamaica 10 Jan		=
Louisa	schooner	66 1-61		distriction of the second of t		
I. Rebecca	dools			canting of Inne	400	are .
Lucerne	bark				101	
Lucy	schooner			captured lat. 29° 38' N., long. 84° 45' W., 20 June	for	-
Lynnhaven	schooner			captured lat. 26° N., long. 93° W., 5 Feb.		
Magnolia	steamer	843*	20	captured Pass a l'Outre, 19 Feb.	from	
Magnolia	schooner	99	0	captured Berwick Bay, 1 May	from	
Mail	schooner)	captured 1 Aug.	111011	
Major Barbour	schooner	102*		captured off Raccoon Point, La., 28 Jan.	for	
Margaret [William Henry]	dools	30 22/95	10	captured off Isle au Breton, 6 Feb.	from	
Margaret A. Stevens	brig	.941	9			*
Maria	schooner			captured trying to enter Sabine Pass, 12 Nov.	for	
Mary Ann	schooner			burned —		-
Mary C. Harris	schooner (pilot boat)	9 61				en
	(the state of the s		

for

captured trying to enter Sabine Pass, 12 Nov.

Aury C. Herris chooner as a captured lat. 22° N., long, 87° to' W., 24 July 1 depondence as a captured lat. 22° N., long, 87° to' W., 24 July 1 depondence as a captured at Anatice River, Fla., 25 Jun. Many Lewis schooner as a captured at Mandee River, Fla., 25 Jun. Many Clause (Maylouser) schooner as a captured of Pas Caralio, 25 Nov. Matsing schooner (pilot pour) (pilot pilot	Mary Ann	schooner		D.	hurned —		
Stille (Drien) Schooner S	Mary C. Harris	schooner (nilor boat)	1 * 00				57
Schooner 68 6 Captured off Mantle River, Fla. 25 Jan.	Mary Ella [Orion]	schooner	5	3	ptured lat. 22° N., long. 87° 10' W., 24 July		-
Caractic Caractic Caractic Capprox. * Captured off Mantle River, Fla. 25, Jan.	Mary Ellen	schooner	89				\$10.
Nortic short state of the state	Mary Lewis	dools		Ü	aptured off Mantle River, Fla., 25 Jan.		
orda [Allice] (pilot boat) orda [Allice] steamer 616 59/95 22 captured off Pass Cavallo, 27, Nov. la schooner 184 17/95 5 barned by Contrelerates off coast of Texas, to July absorption of the schooner 14 142/95 6 barned by Cacha Keys, to Jan. [Mary Ella] schooner 35 91/95 3 captured by Contrelerates off coast of Texas, to July absorption of the schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner 35 91/95 3 captured by Cacha Keys, to Jan. [Mary Ella] schooner 35 91/95 3 captured by Cacha Keys, to Jan. [Mary Ella] schooner 35 91/95 3 captured by Cacha Keys, to Jan. [Mary Ella] schooner 35 91/95 3 captured by Cacha Keys, to Jan. [Mary Ella] schooner 37 78/95 6 captured bass Christian, 4 Apr. [Allis schooner 37 78/95 6 captured bass Christian, 4 Apr. [All schooner 37 78/95 6 captured Wentilion Bay, 17 May schooner schoone	Mary Nevis	sloop		5	ptured Manatee River, Fla., 25 Jan.		
reflect [May] exchanger State Applications Appli	Mary Olivia	unascertained					
orda [Altice] steamer 616 59/95 22 captured off Pass Cavallo, 25 Nov. loop 6		(pilot boat)			urned Apalachicola, 2 Apr.		
louver [May]louver] schooner shooner shooner shooner shooner shooner shooner shooner shooner schooner	Matagorda [Alice]	steamer	616 50/95				
louver [May]fouver] sloop steamer 184 17/95 5 burned by Confederates off ceast of Texas, to July shoop straine schooner schooner schooner schooner full scho	Matilda	schooner		65	ptured off Pass Cavallo, 25 Nov.	110111	
Steamer 184 17/95 5 burned by Contecterates off Cexas, 10 July Tell schooner schooner captured lat. 23° 14° N., long, 83° og' W., 11 May from captured off Ship Island, 15 May burned Apalachicola, 2 Apr. Stooner schooner 44 42/95 captured Apalachicola, 2 Apr. Schooner 35 91/95 3 captured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan. Tell schooner 35 91/95 3 captured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan. To schooner 35 91/95 3 captured Cedar Key, 17 May captured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan. Thom schooner 35 91/95 3 captured Cedar Key, 17 May captured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan. Thom schooner 35 91/95 3 captured Cedar Key, 21 Jan. Thom schooner 37 78/95 6 captured Vermilion Bay, 17 May captured at. 28° N., long, 94° W., 9 Sept. The schooner captured at. 28° N., long, 94° W., 9 Sept. Thom schooner captured at. 28° N., long, 94° W., 9 Sept. Thom schooner captured at. 28° N., long, 94° W., 9 Sept. Thom schooner captured at. 28° N., long, 94° W., 9 Sept. Thom schooner captured base Cedar Keys, 10 Jan. Thom schooner captured base Charkeys of captured base Charkeys of captured base capture	May Flower [Mayflower]	dools	*9				-
christo sloop shoop shoop burned by Confederates of Texas, 10 July abandened cast of Texas, - Feb. schooner schooner captured lat. 23 '14' N., long. 83' og' W., 11 May Irom sigle schooner schooner schooner detroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan. schooner schooner 35 go/ 95 standerd. Dec. captured off Egmont Keys, 21 Jan. schooner 35 go/ 95 standerd. Dec. captured off Rio Grande, 20 Feb. from schooner 81° schooner 80° schooner 80	McKee	steamer	184 17/95				-
schooner schooner abundenced cast of Tecas, – Feb. schooner schooner captured lat. 23° 14′ N., long, 83° og' W., 11 May I from agle schooner schooler schoo	Monte Christo	sloop		P	urned by Confederates off coast of Texas, to July		
Schooner	Mustang	sloop			pandoned coast of Texas, - Feb.		
schooner schooner captured lat. 23° 4", N., long, 83° og W., 11 May from sagle shoop schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner steamer steamer steamer schooner specifical schooner steamer schooner specifical schooner schooner specifical schooner scho	Never Tell	schooner					-
sloop schooner schoon		schooner		Ü	ptured lat. 23 14 N., long. 83 09 W., 11 May	mon	26
schooner schooner destroyed Cedar Keys, to Jan. Sloop Branch Schooner 442/95 captured Apalachicola. 2 Apr. Schooner 442/95 captured Total Keys, 10 Jan. Schooner 442/95 captured off Egmont Key. 21 Jan. Schooner 81. Schooner 81. Schooner 81. Schooner 81. Schooner 60. The schooner 35 91/95 3 captured Dass Christian, 4 Apr. Captured Dass Christian, 4 Apr. Captured Carrier Captured Captured Pass Christian, 4 Apr. Captured Captured Dass Christian, 4 Apr. Captured Captured Dass Christian, 4 Apr. Captured Dass Christian, 4 Apr. Captured Captured Dass Christian, 4 Apr. Captured	New Eagle	sloop		0	aptured off Ship Island, 15 May	шош	
Schooner	New Island	schooner		Ç	urned Apalachicola, 2 Apr.		
Sloop 14 Captured Apalachicola, 2 Apr. Shoop Shoop 14 Captured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan. From schooner Sc	Ocilla	schooner		D	estroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan.		
Stanch Schooner 4442/95 Sunk Cedar Keys, — Feb. From schooner A442/95 Captured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan. From schooner Steamer Steamer Schooner Steamer Schooner Steamer Steamer Schooner Steamer Steamer Schooner Steamer Steamer Schooner Steamer Schooner Steamer Schooner Steamer Schooner Schoone	Octavia	sloop	14	25	aptured Apalachicola, 2 Apr.		21
Branch schooner 4442/95 captured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan. from schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner steamer schooner	O.K.	dools		18	ink Cedar Keys, - Feb.		
schooner sch	Olive Branch	schooner	44 42/95	Ö	aptured off Egmont Key, 21 Jan.	trom	-
schooner schooner steamer schooner steamer schooner steamer schooner steamer schooner steamer schooner stoop sloop soop ser schooner schoo	Orion [Mary Ella]	schooner					
Wallis steamer acquired Bass Christian, 4 Apr. and schooner 35 91/95 3 ney [Dudley] schooner 81.* schooner 80.* ser schooner 69.* 4 destroved off Rio Grande, 20 Feb. for ser schooner 20 (approx.)* captured Vermilion Bay, 17 May from dent schooner 37 78/95 6 captured Vermilion Bay, 17 May from dent schooner 37 78/95 6 captured Mississippi River, 16 Mar. from er schooner action or approx. captured Iat, 28° N., long, 94° W., 9 Sept. for er schooner wrccked and lost 120 miles south of Matamoras. Aug. er schooner beached and burned off Mobile, — Oct. er schooner beached and burned off Mobile, — Oct. Files schooner beached and burned off Mobile, — Oct. schooner schooner beached and burned and hurned off Mobile, — Oct. schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schoon	Orion	schooner		3	ptured, - Dec.	tor	
nix schooner 85 91/95 8 schooner 81	P. C. Wallis	steamer		5	uptured Pass Christian, 4 Apr.		-
schooner 81• sloop 12 22/95 4 destroyed off Rio Grande, 20 Feb. for sloop 12 22/95 4 destroyed off Rio Grande, 20 Feb. for schooner 69° 20 (approx.)	Pelican	schooner	35 91/95	90			07.
schooner sch	Phoenix	schooner	* 18				-
schooner 69* schooner 69* captured Vermilion Bay, 17 May dent [Courier] schooner 37 78/95 6 captured Mississippi River, 16 Mar. dent [Courier] schooner scho	Pinkney [Dudley]	sloop					
schooner 69° schooner shoop 20 (approx.)° captured Vermilion Bay, 17 May dent schooner 37 78/95 6 captured Mississippi River, 16 Mar. dent [Courier] schooner schooner schooner schooner steamer (river boat) stoop er schooner	Pioneer	gools	12 22/95		estroved off Rio Grande, 20 Feb.	lor	
sloop 20 (approx.)* captured Vermilion Bay, 17 May 1000 captured Mississippi River, 16 Mar. schooner s	Pioneer	schooner	*69				
dent schooner 37.78/95 6 captured Mississippi River, 16 Mar. for dent [Courier] schooner captured Tortugas Banks. – June for bler schooner captured lat. 28° N., long. 94° W., 9 Sept. for fer kramer kramer kramer friver boat kramer kramer kramer er kramer kramer kramer er kramer kramer kramer er kramer kramer kramer er kramer kramer kramer kramer er kramer kramer kramer kramer er kramer kramer kramer kramer files	Poody	sloop	20 (approx.)*		printed Vermilion Bay, 17 May	HOH	
schooner sch	President	schooner	37.78/95		aptured Mississippi River, 16 Mar.		
schooner schooner captured Tortugas Banks, — June for schooner files schooner schoon	President [Courier]	schooner					
schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner (river boat) er schooner scho	Princeton	schooner		Ö	printed Lortugas Banks, - June	101	***
steamer (river boat) (river boa	Rambler	schooner		Ü	ptured lat. 28° N., long. 94° W., 9 Sept.		
er schooner	Ranger	steamer		-	sected and last too miles courts of Matamoras - Ano		
schooner schooner 60 64/95 5 captured 22 miles off Sand Island, near Mobile, 20 Apr. from schooner		(TIVET DOAT)		-	returned Coder Laws to Inn		
urrows [Rhode Burroughs] sloop 60• beached and burned off Mobile, — Oct. Files schooner 60 64/95 5 captured 22 miles off Sand Island, near Mobile, 20 Apr. from cca schooner schooner schooner schooner	Rattler	dools			estroyed Cedar Reys, to Jan.		
sloop 60* beached and burned on Mobile, — Oct. schooner 60 64/95 5 captured 22 miles off Sand Island, near Mobile, 20 Apr. from schooner schooner	Ray				TO THE PARTY OF TH		- 0
schooner 60 64/95 5 captured 22 miles off stand, near Moone, 20 Apr. 110m schooner schooner schooner	R. Burrows [Rhode Burroughs]		*09	0	eached and burned off Mobile, - Oct.	Cross	24
schooner [Jefferson Davis] schooner	R. C. Files	schooner	60 64/95		aptured 22 miles off Sand Island, near Mobile, 20 Apr.	HOIH	c
	Rebecca	schooner					¥
	Reindeer [Jefferson Davis]	schooner					

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed for	Gulf Port	for or from Successful Gulf Runs During Port
						1
Reflet	(pilot boat)	29 18/95	90	construed base Christian, 4 Apr.		
Resolution	schooner			Capital Lass Caresana Figure		CH
Retribution	schooner					-
Richard	dools			July - brandens	for	
Richard O'Bryan	schooner			captured of Avalachitola, 2 Apr.		
Rose	schooner			captured on Aparaciascon, a constant		24
Sam Slick	dools					24
Santee	bark			As Ship Island 18 May	from	N
Sarah	doops			captured off Vermillon Bay, a Tuly; unseaworthy; car-		
Sarah	schooner	35 (approx.)	en.	go removed and vessel surrendered to crew after		
				they had taken oath of allegiance to U. S.	from	24
Sarah	steamer			captured Berwick Bay, 3 June		of
Sarah Jordan	schooner					. -
Shiloh	schooner					-
Silas Henry	dools					-
Smith Townsend	schooner					-
S. M. Williams	schooner			The state of the s		
Southern Independence	schooner	101 65/95		captured on Monne, 19 Apr.		51
Southern Republic	dools			I Take the second of the secon		
Spittire	schooner			sunk west coast of Figures, — man.		
Stag	schooner			destroyed Cedar Acys, to Jan.		24
N/ar	schooner	112 41/95	X	20 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30 30	Irom	
Nar	schooner	16 20/95	-	captured bayon la roundle, a ren.	for	
Stephen Hart	schooner			captured lat. 24 N., 10Hg. 82 W., 29 Jan.		
Suda	steamer			Ve W 94 Way 80° 27' W 94 May	hom	
	(river boat)			captured rate 23 de 17 rest - Feb		
un.ns	doops			abandoned coast of tenas,		-
Tambico [Twilight]	schooner	70*	0	Library Josephy Mobile humed by master.		
Tardy	schooner			- Feb.	trom	
:	Lorl	X.	4.5	captured north of Yucatan Bank, 30 Jan.	for	
Ieresta	Jan.	6				Oil
Terror	door	and Ger land				04
Texas Ranger	steamer	250 00/62	4			
Theresa [Cora]	schooner					1
Thetis	schooner	*000				
Thomas C. Acton	schooner	- 0			for	* 1
Three Street	acceptance of the			captured near Sabine Pass, 13 Aug.		
	schooner	1 200				

captured off mouth of Rio Grande, 21 Sept. from captured off coast of Yucatan, 7 July from captured Lake Pointchartrain, 15 May, Apparently responsed and Captured Lake Pointchartrain, 15 May, Apparently responsed Captured Lake Pointchartrain, 15 May, Apparently responsed Captured Lake Pointchartrain, 15 May, Apparently responsed Captured Mobile Bay, 19 June Captured Mobile Bay, 24 Mag. from Captured Boca Chico, 1 Feb. captured off Aransas Pass, 24 Mag. from Captured and destroyed by U. S. in Missisppi Sound, from Captured Pensacola, — 27 June Captured Sabine Lake, La., 1 July from Captured Sabine Lake, La., 1 July from Captured Sabine Captured Sabine Captured Sabine Captured St. Andrew's Bay, 5 Mar. from Captured off Rio Grande, 3 June, Restored 7 destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan.	Thetis Thetis C. Acton	schooner schooner schooner	930.e	£			
Mose Apple	ght [Tampico] Sisters	schooner	70.0	9	captured near Sabine Pass, 13 Aug.	for	1
Schooler 14 27/95 7 Captured Lake Pointchartrain, 15 May. Apparently resolved a schooler 14 27/95 7 Stored Captured Mobile Bay, 19 June 197 (10/95 30 Captured off Mobile, 10 Apr. 197 (10/95 30 Captured Baca Chico, 1 Feb. 197 (10/95 30 Captured Sabine Lake, La., 1 July 197 (10/95 30 Captured Sabine Lake, La., 1 July 197 (10/95 30 Captured Bay, 5 Mar. 197 (10/95	Mose n	(pilot boat) schooner steamer schooner	54 16/95		captured off mouth of Rio Grande, 21 Sept. captured off coast of Yucatan, 7 July captured lat. 23° N., long, 85° W., 25 Aug. captured –, 30 Sept.	from from	-
iga schooner 487 to 95 30 aptured off Mobile, to Apr. Ironn Rain schooner 65* 5 aptured off Aransa Pass, 24 Mag. for Witch [Io Sierra] schooner go 26/95 5 captured off Aransa Pass, 24 Mag. from Witch [Io Sierra] schooner captured Boca Chico, 1 Feb. from from Subconer schooner g3 59/95 captured Boca Chico, 1 Feb. from Auake [Break O' Day, schooner schooner g3 59/95 captured Pensacola, — trom R. Chester schooner g6 607/95 captured Pensacola, — from m. H. Middleton schooner g0 22/95 21 captured Sabine Lake, La. 1 July from m. H. Widdleton schooner schooner schooner schooner captured Sabine Revise to Jan. from n. Mallory schooner schooner from captured Schooler captured Schooler from n. P. Berizon [Coral schooner from captured Schooler from	e Tre	schooner	114 27/95	1~	captured Lake Pontchartrain, 15 May. Apparently restored captured Mobile Bay, 19 June	from	
Kain schooner 65* Witch [Lo Siera] schooner 30 26/95 5 captured off Aransas Pass, 24 Aug. ffor schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner schooner as schooner schooner gg 59/95 captured Boca Chico, 1 Feb. from captured — 4 Nov. captured Pensacola. — 4 Nov. captured Sabine Lake, La. 1 July from captured Sabine Lake, La. 1 July from them? Moop go 22/95 21 captured Sabine Lake, La. 1 July from captured Sabine Lake, La. 1 July from them? Moop go 22/95 21 captured Sabine Restored captured off Rio Grande, 3 June, Restored Sabine Captured Sabine Restored Sabine Captured Sabine	ia ia	schooner	187 10/95	30	captured off Mobile, 10 Apr.	from	A.T.
Witch Lo Sierra schooner	Kain	schooner	65 * 30 26/95	10			
schooner gg 59/95 captured and destroyed by U. S. in Mississippi Sound, from captured Bersacola,— **Rank O' Day,** **R	Witch [Io Sierra]	chpper schoon schooner	5		captured off Aransas Pass, 24 Aug.	101	
schooner 98 59/95 (aptured Pensacola, — from aptured Beraak O' Day, schooner g6 07/95 (aptured Sabine Lake, La., 1 July schooner g6 07/95 (aptured Sabine Lake, La., 1 July schooner g00p go 22/95 5 (aptured St. Andrew's Bay, 5 Mar. n. M.		schooner schooner sloop			captured Boca Chico, 1 Feb. captured —, 4 Nov. captured and destroyed by U. S. in Mississippi Sound.	for	
m schooner approper captured Sabine Lake, La. 1 July from 3. Heaves steamer 905* 21 from 3. Heaves steamer 905* 21 from m Henry [Margaret] sloop 30 22/95 5 destroyed Cedar Keys. 10 Jan. from m H. Webb (steam tug) 655 o7/95 28 captured St. Andrew's Bay. 5 Mar. for schooner 108 12/95 5 captured off Rio Grande, 3 June. Restored for king [Isabel] schooner 7 destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan. for num steamer 7 destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan. for	Florida Awake [Break O' Day, ma]	schooner	93 59/95		27 June captured Pensacola, —	Lon	
m Henry [Margaret] sloop 30 22/95 5 destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan. m H. Middleton steamer steamer m H. Webb (steam tug) 655 07/95 28 m Mallory schooner 108 12/95 5 captured St. Andrew's Bay, 5 Mar. r the Wisp schooner 5 captured off Rio Grande, 3 June. Restored m P. Bernon [Corg] schooner 7 schooner 7 schooner 7 destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan.	m m E. Chester 3. Hewes	schooner sloop steamer	905	51	captured Sabine Lake, La., 1 July captured, 20 Nov.	from	
Schooler 108 12/95 5 captured St. Andrew's Bay, 5 Mar. for schooler schooler 76* 7 destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan. steamer steamer 108 12/95 5 captured off Rio Grande, 3 June. Restored for schooler 108 12/95 7 destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan. 108 12/95 109 12/95 10	m Henry [Margaret] m H. Middleton m H. Webb	sloop sloop steamer (steam fue)	30 22/95	10 00	destroyed Cedar Keys, 10 Jan.		
nun steamer	m Mallory the Wisp m P. Benson [Cora] King Habel	schooner schooner schooner	108 12/95	10 I	captured St. Andrew's Bay, 5 Mar. captured off Rio Grande, 3 June. Restored	Tol	- 21
	uma	schooner	2		destroyed Cedar Reys, 10 Jan.		

Summary for 1362:

Vessels engaged in the business: Percentage of successful runs: Number of runs attempted: Unsuccessful runs: Successful runs:

steamers 50, others, including unascertained types, 229, total 279 steamers 18, others, including unascertained types, 131, total 149 steamers 73%, others, including unascertained types, 68%, all types 65% total 256 total 428 steamers 34, others, including unascertained types, 222, steamers 68, others, including unascertained types, 360,

To be continued

Documents

Double Trouble: Shipwreck and Enemy Action in the Chesapeake

STORM and foe endangered ships in the Chesapeake Bay area during the period of the American Revolution, but it is to be hoped that few captains had the double misfortune experienced by Captain J. Walters in losing one vessel by shipwreck and barely escaping capture by the British in another. This mariner's accounts of his troubles are preserved in letters to Jesse Hollingsworth (1732-1810), the merchant in whose service he sailed out of Baltimore. The epistles record in graphic language every detail of the two mishaps and provide a vivid picture of the perils of sea travel in the latter part of the eighteenth century.1

¹ The letters are in the Ridgely Papers at The Maryland Historical Society. The original spelling and punctuation are preserved, but paragraphing has been supplied in the first letter for the sake of clarity.

I.

Captain Walter's narrative of his shipwreck, undated, is a simple story of his encounter with a wintry gale, penned afterwards as a sort of explanation and defense of his seamanship. The account lapses occasionally into the present tense, seeming to show that the writer was reliving the terrible hours of the struggle with ice, waves, and wreckers. That Captain Walters was not illiterate, as might be assumed from the grammar and punctuation, is indicated by a prefatory quotation which reads

On Eagles wings immortal Scandals flie Whilst virtuous actions are but born & die Eugenius

As an amusement for my Idle hours & your farther more particular information of the late melancholy accident that happen'd me whilst in your boat Shall once more beg leave to intrude and lay this before you. the Contents of which is taken from Credencials wrote on the spot which will be produced if desired. it will Serve to inform you how far you have been imposed on by the malicious information you were pleased to inform me of the last time I Spoke to you on the subject—

On the 25. of Jany, we were in Lat. Cape Hatrass very near the land in Co. with Capts. King. Conway, & Hathaway, when we were seperated by a very severe gale of wind at N.W. from that time 'till 5 of feby, we were plying between the two Capes, under the head of the foresail often double reef'd with one Continued scene of hail. rain snow & Ice. 'till we had neither a Shroud nor running left us to make use of, all the latter that we had to Spare having been made use of in Securing our boat. Squarsail &c out of 10 hands I had only 4 that Cou'd by any means get on deck, besides my Self, who it Seems was never on deck from the time I Came on the Coast till we got into the Capes. (but this report must Contradict it Self with every one, but those who are determined to believe every thing to my disadvantage) if they will but reflect that there was not a man on bd. that Cou'd write his name but my Self. & this Small but unhappy number were so froze that they Cou'd by no means Stand longer than a few minuits at a time when on deck-

the 5th of feb at 7. A.M. we were under Cape Charles, it was Somthing moderate we were employ'd in clearing our decks of Ice with which we were Coverd fore & aft, that it was almost impossible for any of us to Stir before I observed our passage obstructed by Ice I mentioned to my men to beat up the bay, the wind being at N.N.W. I did not Care to lay so near the Capes as portsmouth for fear of the enemy, when they declared they'd not ketch a Sheet unless I would go into some port where we might recruit our selves & refit the boat, but the Contraversy soon ended when we discovered the bay to be froze from side to side, we bore away & Came to Anchor under C. Charles, but from this place we were Shortly drove by Ice & was all the insuing night engaged with immence quantities of it not without the utmost danger of being mashed by it, this made me determine to get into the first port I Cou'd finde open. & in the morning Auchor'd again under C. Charles & sent my boat with the mate on shore to get a pilot but before they return'd two Came off to me, shortly after our own boat returnd with a nother, we immediately got under way & sounded the barr it being then low water, found we Cou'd not get over the bar of Course lay off at Sea that night & the next morning being the 7th we got in & in standing up the sound we got on a middle ground where unluckey for us she lay, the tide then was falling we Cou'd do but little else but Carry out our Anchors & prepare to hall off next tide but before it Came it blew a perfect hurrican at E.N.E. which made the vessel lay very uneasy. This by the Consent of the pilot made me determine to slip and run on the weather shore, and accordingly prepared for the event. but when the time Came that we shou'd have done it. the pilot refused it, saying he apprehended no danger where we lay, it was then raining extreemly hard which he said wou'd shortly kill the wind, it wou'd have been very imprudent in me to have taken the Command out of his hands whilst he remain'd sober & in his senses unless I was a mind to lay my self at the mercy of under writers, should my scheme not succeed, at length the hour of 12. Came, when we parted and had it not been for that melancholy accident we might have laid as safe there as in the bason of Baltimore-

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we Continued driving out of the harbour 'till near 2. A.M. over banks that had not more than 5, feet water on them at which time the wind Came to N.W. we had then drove near a league from our Anchors, our vessel entirely full of water & on her beam ends we were apprehensive of her overseting to prevent which we were obliged to Cut away both our masts, at 6 A.M. of the 8th I found it was absolutely necessary for some of us to try to get on shore, in attempt which my boat fild 3 difft. times-but to stay where we were it must be attended with unavoidable death, which made me make the despirate attempt & was so far luckey as shortly to get thro' the breakers. Contrary to the expectation of every body who saw us. before I got on shore I met 2 boats Coming off to us to deal not knowing the late disaster, into one of which I got with one of my men who had given out with Cold & sent my own with the other back to the wreck for the relief of those who were still on bd. but none but my own wou'd venter a long side. & when there none wd. venter into her but one of the pilots the other prefering to lay off at the distance of 80 or 100 paces taking up drift goods, we shortly after got a sailing boat rig'd & sent off but befor she got a long side three of the unfortunat numbr, on bd. froze to death, it being then 10 A.M. in the evening it was modt. we got some goods out of her & the rum secured that drifted out of her, my serviving men not being able to move & some not in their senses it Compell'd me to get such men as I Cou'd to assist. I soon found the Country to be alarmed & every one geting what they Cou'd without any application to me.

9th, some of my men were able to go off but were not alow'd to do any thing till the wreckers were satisfy'd, who all Carry'd their goods off. I then applyed to Capt. Hall to pursue some of their boats and get their goods whilst I went after others, but all he Cou'd get was inventories of them soon after Mr. Jno. Kendall Came down which was the first time I ever saw or heard of him. I found him very assidious in doing all he Cou'd for me, he advised me who to apply to for relief & how to act. (10th) almost

every thing was got out of the wreck to day & Carry'd off as before notwithstanding my own Craft was there with Jas. Ames in her was not alow'd to do any thing which was the only hand I C'd get to go off. I again advised Mr. Kendal of their treatment who desired me to get the Shereff & apprehend them, it being then in the afternoon I accordingly set off for the same purpose & Calld on Belt to get an express sent off for Baltimore who was put on shore at same time with several others, we got no farther than half way to J. Ks. that night where I drew my protest, wrote my letters. & got a general warrant. (11th) we got up to Mr. J Ks. got the express sent off & got the sheriff. (12) we set off on our way down. Calld on the prossicutor for the State, took his advice & apprehended some of the wretches that evening. (13) being sunday Cou'd do but little the wreckers hearing the Sheriffs progress many of them brought in Inventories of their goods & promised to deliver all they had belonging to me. (14) the Sheriff & my self were employ'd in geting in all we Cou'd -that night I paid off my men, they were then able to do for themselves they wd. do nothing for me, I did not think it was Conducive to the owners interest to keep them on pay & hire others to do the business how far this information will agree with what you formerly heard I shall leave to your own Candour to determine-

you were pleased to say if Yellott or Earle had been in the boat they wd. have saved her, its possible they might. I am govern'd by Circumstances but had either of them been there & kept the Sea, they would have been singular for am apt to think no man in his sences in the Condition that 9 of us were in wd. attempt it. Capts. King & Conway got in the day before me & were the only vessels that escaped dammage in the whole fleet. But ye owners might recreminate their Charectors with as much Justice as you have mine, for they were all put on shore at same time it's too well known to the public with what success Earle kept the Sea. I believe his reason was he Cou'd not get in with the land to make a harbour. Your pleasing to prefer E to me I think you are not blamable for in no respect but one which is you diviating from a promis made me, which made me refuse taking the Command of a brigt, that that Mr. Kendall wrote to you for the guns of by me. but Mr. Hollingsworth tells Mr. T. Sollers E. had the first promise of her if so why did he engage her to me. I know E to be a worthy man one who scorns to purchas a good name of a worthless fellow at the expence of his owners purse.

the reason I never mentioned the wreck in either of my former letters is I never thought her an object worth the least of my attention, nor neither shou'd I have Concern'd with her pro, or Con. had not Mr. Kendal offer'd to have bought her at which time I told him I had no right to sell her unless she was insured, he said he did not doubt but it was the Case after such severe weather and that he only wanted the

draft of her, as he believed it to be out of the power of any man to raise her from where she lay, which indeed the Sequel has fully prooved, but after the Carpenter turn'd her he gave him hopes of geting her up but 1 believe it to be more with a view of geting wages than any other motive—for 1 show'd him where every timber was broke between her fore & after frame, almost to a futtock & the plank in her waist totally off for many feet fore & aft, this much Sr. I have diliver'd in writing it lasts as long as you please to keep the paper, your shewing this to the rest of the Company or any other person you please will be greatly to the satisfaction of Sr. your sincere well wisher.

J. Walters.

II.

Captain Walters' meeting with the enemy was a part of the British effort in the spring of 1779 to interrupt the trade of ports in the Chesapeake region. A month previously, in its issue of 18 May, the Maryland Journal, and Baltimore Advertiser reported the appearance in the Bay of a British fleet of thirty-three sail, fourteen of them King's Ships and six Line of Battle. The paper said that between three and four thousand men had been landed and had taken possession of Portsmouth, Virginia. A week later, the number of troops was reduced to two thousand, now more exactly described as Hessians under Lt. Genl. Knyphausen ('Old Knyp'). An 'Extraordinary' of 2 June, issued to publish a letter from the Continental Congress to the people of the United States, included as its only other item a communication from the Virginia executive, Patrick Henry, to Governor Thomas Johnson of Maryland. This reported that the British fleet under Commodore Sir George Collier, including Raisonable of 64 guns, Rainbow of 40, Otter of 14, 'and sundry other armed and unarmed vesels,' together with the land forces under Maj. Genl. Matthew, had evacuated Portsmouth for an unknown destination. The Maryland Journal for 29 June printed a Williamsburg despatch of 19 June which reported continued activity by enemy privateers.

It was, then, a reduced force which Walters and his fellow-captains encountered as they attempted to sail down the Bay. The description of the clash is set down in plain seaman's language, and Walters does not hesitate to express criticism of a colleague who behaved somewhat less than daring.

Gentlemen Annapolis June 14-1779-

When I took leave of you on Wednesday last I little expected you wou'd have heard from me so soon, under such disagreeable Circumstances. I left N. Point the next morning and arrived at Patuxant at 12 where I was so luckey as to meet the fleet just geting under way. Of course I bore away with them. at 6 p.m. off the mouth of Rappahanock discover'd a brig and Sloop, both shewing guns & making a warlike appearance. with night approaching, I thought it most advisable to take harbour, which we did in sd river of Rappahanock, the next morning we found the brig & Sloop at anchor a little below us, both Americans Capt. Greenaway of the Brig Lady Washington informed us, he was Chased up the day proceeding by three or four sail of the enemy consisting of a brig, sloop & a schooner. we held a Consultation upon it, and appointed Capt. Earl our Commodore and made out a list of Signals determining to go & see what they were. Saturday morning the wind being favourable got under way & stood down to the mouth of the river, where we discover'd four sail two large sloops, & two Shooners, the Commodore desired me to go in Chase & see what they were while he and the rest of the fleet follow'd me. I soon Came so near as to find they made a warlike appearance. I gave the foremost sloop a shot and hoisted my Coulars which she return'd the same by show the thirteen stripes. I did not Care to trust to appearance & bore a way & inform'd the Commadore who gave orders for a general Chase, at half past 8 a.m. the brig lively Capt. Belt was within gun shot of the starnmost sloop, she began to play her starne chases at him and hoisted english Coulers, it being nearly Calm, the Hero got her oars out & rowed up with them, while Capt. Belt was prity warmly engaged with both of them at long shot, the enemy making off with the assistance of their oars and sails, by this time they were obliged to abandon a prize Schonar they had taken in ballast, leaving 700 dollars and their Cloaths behind them, this we took pocession of, at 11 both the Hero & Capt. Belt were within pistol shot of the enemy, and the engagement very warme on both sides, the enemy making off by this time we discouverd on the Eastern Shore five other sail coming down to their assistance under all the Canves they Cou'd spread it being nearly calm at 12 our worthy Commadore was engaged with both, the lively was obliged to sheer of to refit, not having scarsely a whole rope on bd this gave room for Capt Hanson & myself to divert their attention a little from him, by plying them with our muskets and Carryage guns. it soon did it's desired effect for they return'd our salute with round & grape in great abundance, we were so luckey as to suffer no dammage from them, its probable you'll wonder what has becom of the Lady Washington Capt. Greenaway (as fine a brig as ever I saw with ten Caryage guns) Indeed I wonder so too. but on looking a mile to leward of the enemy found he had secured a safe retreat for himself & sloop her Consort every now & then throwing around shot at them, which frequently fell short of its object, at half past one the worthy Capt. Earl and inimitable Capt. Belt were obliged to leave their (better than half Conquor'd) enemy, the fleet being near them: & they in a very Shatter'd Condition in sails & riging. & what is most surprising, neither of the two vessels had a man kill'd Capt. Earl had two wounded. Capt. Belt had three I fear one mortally as he is shot thro' the head in at his eye and out at the back part where his braines works out. Capt. Belt had much the worst of the two vessels, he had 170 shot thro' his main sail, & I suppose (to speak within bounds) more than twice that number thro' his fore topsail, & his foretopmast shot away, but was so luckey that it did not fall 'till this morning when he attempted to get under way to come to Annapolis to refit. the fleet above mentioned Consisted of a Ship, a brig, a Sloop & two schoners, besides what we engaged, they persued us very closely up as far as Ceader point, where we saw two (a Sloop & Sconer of them) this morning, the N. England Schooner that loaded at Baltimore with provition I believe to be taken, as we saw one with them much like her & shou'd have retaken her a gain had it not been for the reinforcement Coming so Close on

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verd lown they our , the ving i for pray let me have your farther orders, we think it impossible to get out 'till we get a prity strong fleet together, under the Convoy of the gally. Capt. Earl & Hanson is both here with me—you'll please acquaint Colo. Jno. Dorsey of the engagement. I believe he is Concern'd in the lively, the largest Sloop of the enemy is supposed to mount 12 6s and 4s with an immense number of men, the smallest mounts 10 4s & 3s eaqually as well man'd—

I am, Gentlemen Your most obed[©] & very Humb, Serv! J. Walters Messrs, Jesse Hollingsworth & Co. Mercht* Baltimore Town

Contributed by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ROBERT FULTON'S HEIRS

[North Carolina Sentinel, Newbern. N. C., Saturday 29 May 1830 Vol. XIII, No. 633]

A writer in the Virginia Literary Museum, considering the narrow circumstances of the family of Robert Fulton to be a reproach to the nation, suggests:

1st. That the proprietors of each steamboat, provide a box to receive contributions for the benefit of Fulton's heirs.

2d. That every passenger be invited, without importunity, to contribute one cent.

3d. That one cent of the passage money of every passenger be set apart to supply the deficiency.

4th. That the proceeds thus contributed be remitted on the first day of every month, or as soon after as practicable, to the Bank of the United States, at New York, on account of Fulton's children.

We learn from the Fredericksburg Arena, that the foregoing proposition attracted the attention of some gentlemen of Virginia, and they resolved to present a box to the new steamboat Rapphannock,¹ of Baltimore, in order that the experiment might be first made in her. The box was presented and the proprietors of the boat expressed their gratification in being the first to set so praiseworthy an example. It bears this inscription:

ONE CENT BOX
LET INDIVIDUAL GRATITUDE
COMPENSATE FULTON'S HEIRS
FOR NATIONAL NEGLECT

Contributed by Alexander Crosby Brown

¹ Wood hull side-wheel steamboat Rappahannock, 301 tons, built in 1830 at Baltimore Abandoned 1857.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Writings in Maritime History, 1945-1950

BY ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION

T the September gathering of the editors and advisory board, it was decided unanimously to substitute comprehensive quarterly lists of current maritime literature for the present practice of reviewing a few such books. The reviews, it was recognized, could cover only a very small fraction of the pertinent literature. It was believed that it would be much more helpful to the readers of The American Neptune to follow the practice, already being conducted successfully in the Ameriican Historical Review, Canadian Historical Review, New England Quarterly and several other journals, of listing all pertinent current books, pamphlets, and articles. The reader could thus feel assured that he was missing nothing important, and that he would learn of its existence while it was still fresh. It was decided to abandon completely the present review practice, but possibly to publish later a series of articles appraising the whole field of the literature on a particular maritime subject. The new bibliographies, it was felt, should not attempt to pass judgment upon the quality or competence of the various works; comments, if any, should be limited to explanations of what might not be evident from the title of the book or article.

The scope of these new lists, it was believed, should be as broad as possible, to include all writings in English on all aspects of maritime history, including naval subjects. It was recognized that the particular interests of the Neptune's readers vary widely, and it is hoped to gratify as many such tastes as possible. But, because specialists in naval operations may have scant interest in inland steamboats, and vice versa, it has been decided to segregate the items into a dozen broad categories.

It is hoped to cover not only that broad range of subjects, but also a broad range of publication. There is really less need of calling attention to articles in the other maritime-history publications, or to the major books which will be widely reviewed, than to material scattered through

scores of less obvious periodicals or published under rather informal circumstances. Several members of the editorial and advisory group have agreed to cover certain periodicals regularly, while it will be appreciated if any readers will submit titles of material which might otherwise escape attention. Pertinent suggestions concerning omissions will be included in later 'addenda' sections.

By the July 1952 issue it is expected that these lists will be placed on a regular current quarterly basis. In the meantime, it seemed desirable to get a running start with the whole postwar period. This initial list covers material published from 1945 to 1950 inclusive. The April 1952 issue will contain the publications for 1951.

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To conserve space, particularly in this lengthy, six-year opening list. it seems desirable to compromise with the canons of bibliographical format to give a maximum of information in a minimum of space. It should not take an expert cryptographer to translate 'Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.,' while the word 'Yale' should be enough without writing 'New Haven, Yale University Press.' The full titles and addresses of publishers can be found in the appendix of H. W. Wilson Company's Cumulative Book Index, 1943-1948 and 1949-1950. Also, for considerations of space, this opening list, at least, does not include material from such obvious maritime history publications as THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE, Mariner's Mirror, Steamboat Bill of Facts, U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, Log Chips, Inland Seas, Sea Breezes, Trident, Marine Digest, The Lookout, Detroit Marine Historian and Nautical Research Journal. In these lists, British works also published in the United States or Canada will show the American, rather than the British, publisher and price. Fishing, whaling and yachting are included in the regular merchant marine categories.

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ROBINSON, M. S., A Pageant of the Sea: The Macpherson Collection of Maritime Prints and Drawings, 264 pp.; \$7.50; London, Halton, 1950. Includes 230 plates, with 16 in color, from the celebrated collection, now in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. Arranged in four parts: Historical; The Ships; Manning the Ships; Voyages, Atlases and Seaports.

ROGERS, C. N., The Marine Museum of the City of New York, 1 p.: Rudder, June 1945.

Rogers, S. R. H., The Sailing Ship; a Study in Beauty, 98 pp.; N. Y., Harper, 1950. Illustrated.

Rutledge, A. W., Artists in the Life of Charleston. Through Colony and State From Restoration to Reconstruction, 260 pp.; Philadelphia, 1949. Illustrated. Contains several entries relating to

marine paintings or views of local interest.

St. Louis, City Art Museum of, Mississippi Panorama. Being an exhibition of the life and landscape of the Father of the Waters and its great tributary. The Missouri; including paintings, drawings, prints, photographs, river boat models and steamboat appurtenances; accompanied by the Dickeson and Egan giant moving Panorama of the Mississippi, 277 pp.; St. Louis, 1949. Historical foreword by Charles Ravenswaay. Numerous illustrations in black and white, some in color.

SNIFFEN, H. S., James and John Bard, in Primitive Painters in America, 1750-1950, ed. Jean Lipman

and Alice Winchester, N. Y., Dodd-Mead, 1950, pp. 121-131.

James and John Bard, Painters of Steamboat Portraits; Art in America, April 1949. Reprinted, with A. C. Brown, 'Check List of Works' (q.v.), as Mariners' Museum Pub. No. 18, 32 pp.; 18 plates; \$1.00; Newport News, 1949.

(STEDMAN, C. E.), Mr. Hardy Lee, His Yacht, being xxiv Sketches on Stone by Chinks, Boston, Club of Odd Volumes, 1950. Reprinted from the 1857 edition with introduction by A. C. Brown.

TRUXTUN-DECATUR NAVAL MUSEUM, NAVAL HISTORICAL FOUNDATION, Commodores Thomas Truxtun and Stephen Decatur and the Navy of their Time, 40 pp.: Washington, The Museum, 1950. Catalogue, illustrated, of the Museum's first exhibition, Spring and Summer, 1950.

U. S. Marines in Review, 1775-1950, 34 pp.; ibid., 1950. Illustrated; second exhibition, Au-

tumn and Winter, 1950-1951.

WARNER, OLIVER, An Introduction to British Marine Painting, 48 pp.; \$5.00; Toronto, Clarke, Irwin, 1948. 65 plates.

WHITEHILL. W. M., The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History, 243 pp.; \$5.00; Salem, Peabody Museum, 1949.

ZABRISKIE, G. A., Ships' Figureheads in and about New York, 12 pp.; N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar., Jan. 1946.

XIII. Yearbooks

American Merchant Marine Conference—Proceedings, \$5.00. Propeller Club of the United States, 17 Battery Place, New York 4. Short articles on a wide variety of subjects concerning the American merchant marine.

Brassey's Annual: The Armed Forces Year Book, ed. Rear Adm. H. G. Thursfield, RN, \$7.00.
Macmillan. Continuation of Brassey's Naval Annual, 1886-1949. Articles and tables, now only partly naval.

Canadian Ports and Shipping Directory, \$2.50. National Business Publications, Gardenvale, Que. Commercial Statistics, Water-borne Commerce of the United States, \$4.25. Washington, G. P. O. Fairplay's Annual Summary of British Shipping Finance, 30s. Fairplay Publications, Palmerston

House, Bishopsgate, London, EC2.

Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States, v. 1, Foreign Trade Statistics, \$4.50; v. 2, Transport Statistics, \$3.25. Washington, G. P. O.

Great Lakes Red Book: a list of over 1500 Vessels of the Great Lakes, including the Names of their Owners, Captains, and Engineers, and of Shipbuilding and Repair Yards, \$1.50. Penton Publishing Co., 220 Broadway, N. Y.

Inland River Guide, \$3.00. Frederick Way, Jr., 121 River Ave., Sewickley, Pa.

Jane's Fighting Ships, ed. R. V. B. Blackman, \$16.50. N. Y., McGraw.

Lloyd's Register of American Yachts, 2 v., \$20.00 each. Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 17 Battery Place, N. Y. 4.

Hoyd's Register of Shipping, \$75.00. Ibid.

Merchant Marine Statistics, 25 cents. Washington, G. P. O.

Merchant Ships, ed. E. C. Talbot-Booth, \$8.50. N. Y., McGraw.

Merchant Vessels of the United States, \$4.75. Washington, G. P. O.

Naval Expenditures, 40 cents. Ibid.

Ports of the World, ed. Sir Archibald Hurd, \$8.50. E. W. Sweetman, 1 Broadway, N. Y.

Record of American and Foreign Shipping. American Bureau of Shipping, N. Y.

Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, including semiannual report of Secretary of the Navy, Washington, G. P. O.

Shipping World Year Book, General Maritime Information, Statutory Rules and Regulations, Statistical Tables, Classified World Directories of Shipowners, Shipbuilders, Towing Services, Marine Engine Builders, etc.; Training for the Merchant Marine; Shipping and Shipbuilding Organisations: 'Who's Who in the Shipping World,' 25 s. Shipping World, Ltd., Effingham House, 1 Arundel St., London, WC 2

Statistical Abstract of the United States, \$3.00. Washington, G. P. O.

(For additional titles, and for changes in prices, see H. W. Wilson & Co., Cumulative Book Index, subhead 'Yearbooks,' under 'Shipbuilding' and 'Shipping': also G. P. O. Price Lists, Nos. 25, 'Transportation and Roads,' 62A. 'Foreign Commerce,' and 63, 'Navy.'

XIV. Periodicals

A. Devoted to Maritime History

The American Neptune: A Quarterly Journal of Maritime History. Ed., Ernest S. Dodge, Ill., \$6.50.
American Neptune, Inc., Salem, Mass.

Detroit Marine Historian: Monthly Journal of the Marine Historical Society of Detroit. Ed., Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S.J., University of Detroit. Processed, \$1.00, including membership; Kenneth E. Smith, Treas., 153 Monterey Ave., Highland Park 3, Mich.

Inland Seas: Quarterly Bulletin of the Great Lakes Historical Society. Sponsored by Cleveland Public Library. Ed., Donna L. Root. \$5.00, including membership. Great Lakes Historical So-

ciety, 325 Superior Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.

Nautical Research Journal: Nautical Research Guild, Whittier, California. Ed., Harry D. Hamilton. Monthly, ill., processed, \$5.00, including membership. 15004 E. Granada Ave., Whittier, Calif.

Log Chips: A Periodical Publication of Recent Maritime History. Ed., John Lyman. Bimonthly, processed, \$1.00. Editor, 7801 Gateway Blvd., Washington 19, D. C.

The Mariner's Mirror: The Quarterly Journal of the Society for Nautical Research. Ed., Commander Hilary P. Mead, RN, 4 Eliot Place, London, SE 3. Ill., one guinea (218), including membership. The Hon. Secretary, Society for Nautical Research, National Maritime Museum. Greenwich, SE 10, England.

Steamboat Bill of Facts: Journal of the Steamship Historical Society of America. Ed., C. Bradford Mitchell, 3 Phoenix St., Fairhaven, Mass., Quarterly, processed, ill., \$3.00, including member-

ship. Edwin A. Patt, Secy., 53 Annawamscutt Road, West Barrington, R. L.

All Hands: Bureau of Naval Personnel Information Bulletin. Monthly, ill., \$2.00. Washington, D. C., G. P. O.

The Beaver: A Magazine of the North. Quarterly, ill., \$1.00. The Beaver, Hudsons Bay House, Winnipeg, Man.

Essex Institute Historical Collections: Ed., Harriet S. Tapley, Quarterly, \$3.00. Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

Journal of the Honourable Company of Master Mariners: Quarterly, ill., 21s. Offices of Company, Temple Stairs, Victoria Embankment, London, WC 2.

Journal of the Royal United Service Institution: Ed., Maj. Gen. R. E. Vyvvan. Quarterly, ill., 30s. Secv., Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, SW 1.

The Log of the Mystic Scaport: Ed., Carl D. Cutler. Monthly, ill., processed, \$5,00, including membership and one unbound publication. Marine Historical Assn., Inc., Mystic, Conn.

The Lookout: Ed., Marjorie D. Candee. Monthly, \$1.00. Seaman's Church Institute, 25 South Street, New York 4, N. Y.

Maine Coast Fisherman: Ed., C. Owen Smith, 1841/2 Middle St., Portland, Me. Monthly, ill., newspaper format, \$2.00. Maine Coast Fisherman, Belfast, Maine.

The Marine Digest: Ships, Shipping, Fishing, Yachting, Marine Insurance, Foreign Trade. Ed., Fred W. Gerbel. Weekly, ill., \$3.00. Official publication of Puget Sound Maritime Hist. Soc., and other organizations. The Marine Digest, 106 Columbia St., Scattle 4, Wash.

The Mast Magazine: 'Dedicated to American Merchant Marine Personnel.' Ed., Lt. John K. Tennant, USMS. Monthly, ill., \$3.00. Mast Magazine Assn., P. O. Box 87, Sheepshead Bay Station.

Brooklyn 29, N. Y.

Military Affairs: Journal of the American Military Institute. Ed., Lt. Col. Milton Skelly. Quarterly, \$3.50, including membership. (Previously: Journal of the American Military History Foundation, 1937-1938; Journal of the American Military Institute, 1939-1940.) Secy., American Military Institute, 1115-17th St. NW., Washington 6, D. C.

The Rudder: A Magazine for Yachtsmen. Ed., Boris Laur-Leonardi. Monthly, ill., \$4.00. 9 Murray St., N. Y .7.

Sea Breezes: The Ship Lovers Digest. Monthly, ill., \$2.25. Charles Burchall & Sons, Ltd., 17 James St., Liverpool 2, England.

Ships and Sailing: The Popular Magazine of Ships and the Sea. Ed., Willard V. Anderson. Monthly, ill., \$5.00 (3 years, \$12.00). Kalmbach Publishing Co., 1027 N. 7th St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.

The Trident: incorporating Blue Peter. Monthly, ill., 20s. Trident, 130 Leadenhall St., London EC3.

United States Naval Institute Proceedings: Ed., Capt. Bruce McCandless, USN. Monthly, ill., \$3.00, with associate membership; subscription, \$5.00. U. S. Naval Institute, Annapolis. Md. Yachting: Ed., Herbert L. Stone. Monthly, ill., \$5.00. 205 E. 42nd St., N. Y. 17.

(For additional titles, see E. C. Graves, ed., *Ulrich's Periodicals Directory*, 6th ed., N. Y., R. R. Bowker, 1951; 'Ships and Shipping,' pp. 448-451, listing 75 maritime publications, American and foreign.)

C. House Organs: Current Data with occasional History

The Grace Log, W. R. Grace & Co., 10 Hanover Square, N. V.

Matsonews, Matson Navigation Co., San Francisco.

N. A. S. M. News, Holland-America Line, 29 Broadway, N. Y.

The Ship's Bulletin, Esso Shipping Co., 23rd fl., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y.

Shipyard Bulletin, Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., Newport News, Va.

The Tow Line, Moran Towing and Transportation Co., 17 Battery Place, N. Y.

Unifruitco and U. F. Report, United Fruit Co., Pier 3, North River, N. Y.